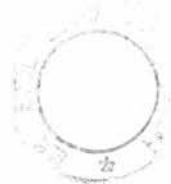


Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton (1767-1852)
as Patron and Collector

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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This thesis examines the patronage and collecting of Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton, premier peer of Scotland, son-in-law of the maniacal collector William Beckford, and arguably the greatest collector in the history of Scotland. Using archival evidence from many sources, it begins with investigations of the Duke's early collecting of Italian Renaissance paintings and manuscripts, acquisitions associated with Russia between 1807 and 1814, involvement with Princess Pauline Borghese and the Bonaparte family, and purchases of porphyry and marble in Rome between 1817 and 1827. Chapters 5 and 6 focus on the extension and refurbishment of Hamilton Palace between 1822 and 1832 and parallel purchases of furniture, furnishings and applied art. Special attention is paid to motivation and the acquisition of items from the Fonthill sale, tapestries made for Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, furniture owned by Marie-Antoinette, Napoleon's 1810 tea service, bronze statues (wrongly) associated with Francis I of France – which served to underline the Duke's status and "support" his claim to the French dukedom of Châtellerauld – and porphyry busts of Roman emperors that were "superior" to the bronze copies in the British royal collection. Chapter 7 reviews the last grands projets: the extremely expensive great black marble staircase, planned equestrian monument of the Duke as Marcus Aurelius, and Hamilton Mausoleum. The final chapter concentrates on the later purchases of Classical items and plaster copies, second marble bust of Princess Pauline, Thorvaldsen's Napoleon Apotheosized, and Old Master paintings, and discusses how the Duke displayed his collection, in colourways, running sequences, clusters, and "end statements". A "post mortem" conclusion sketches out the continuity of collecting Napoleonic material, as a consequence of the Duke's son and heir's marriage to the daughter of the adopted daughter of Napoleon and cousin of Napoleon III, and the dispersal of the collection and demolition of Hamilton Palace between 1880 and 1930.

I declare that the contents of this thesis are my own work.

Godfrey Howell Evans

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Contents

Introduction	1
Abbreviations	4
Chapters	
1. The Formative Years, 1767-1806, and the Early Collecting of Paintings and Manuscripts	5
2. The Marquis of Douglas's Russian Acquisitions	33
3. Ambition, Marriage and Debt: Douglas's Patronage of Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, Jacques-Louis David and Raeburn and his Later Purchases of Manuscripts, 1809-1819	56
4. The 10 th Duke of Hamilton's Involvement with Princess Pauline Borghese and his Collecting in Italy, 1816-1825	82
5. The Restoration and Enlargement of Hamilton Palace by the 10 th Duke of Hamilton, 1806-1832	100
6. Furnishing Hamilton Palace, 1820-1832: The Acquisition of French Royal Furniture, Napoleonic Silver and Classical Sculpture to Promote Status	130
7. The Last <i>Grands Projets</i> : The Black Marble Staircase, Equestrian Monument of the Duke and Hamilton Mausoleum	163
8. The Last Years: The Expansion and Display of the Collection, 1832-1852	193
Conclusion	225
Select Bibliography	232
Illustrations	243
Floor Plans of Hamilton Palace	379
Appendices 1-20 (on disk at back of volume)	
1. Annotated Inventory of Paintings inscribed 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton'	381
2. Annotated Inventory of Some of the Pictures in Hamilton Palace in 1811, entitled 'Pictures. Hamilton Palace. 1811'	437

3. Annotated List of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books owned by the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale (later 10 th Duke of Hamilton) by 1819	550
4. Lists and Bills relating to Manuscripts and Books acquired by the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale	606
5. The Marquis of Douglas in Russia and Poland, 1807-8, with Letters and Bills, etc., relating to Russia and his Russian Acquisitions	622
6. The Marquis of Douglas's Ambassadorial Service and his involvement with Rundell, Bridge and Rundell	703
7. Letters from Lord Archibald Hamilton to the Marquis of Douglas relating to the three cameos owned by the Roman banker Torlonia that Douglas received from Baron Rall in St Petersburg and took to Scotland in 1808	751
8. Letters relating to Sir Henry Raeburn's Portrait of Alexander, 10 th Duke of Hamilton, with notes on David's freedom of action over <i>The Emperor Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries</i> and the payment for David's work	760
9. Furniture and Silver, including:	771
Shipments from Italy and Paris	
Dealings with Robert Hume	
The 6 th Duke of Devonshire's opinion of the 10 th Duke of Hamilton	
Wanstead and Fonthill sales in 1822 and 1823	
Stone furniture in the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory	
Garnaud bill for the Napoleon tea service, 1830	
1831 Marchetti sale catalogue entries	
Silver candelabrum-centrepiece presented to the Duke in 1849	
Important furniture listed in the 1853 Hamilton Palace inventory	
10. Letters relating to the sculptor Thomas Campbell	825
11. The New Extension to Hamilton Palace	875
12. The Use of Black Marble in Hamilton Palace after 1825	1100
13. Letters relating to the sculptor Patric Park	1247
14. Note written by the 10 th Duke of Hamilton about ten tapestries representing scenes from Tasso's <i>Gerusalemme Liberata</i> woven by the San Michele manufactory in Rome for Cardinal Pietro	1360

Ottoboni in the 1730s	
15. Bill from Robert Hume to the 10 th Duke of Hamilton relating to items purchased at the sale of George Watson Taylor's collection at Erlestoke Mansion, near Devizes, Wiltshire, dated August 1832	1367
16. The Two Porphyry Busts of Roman Emperors in the Hamilton Palace Collection	1378
17. Napoleonic Items recorded in the Hamilton Palace Inventories and Sale Catalogues, 1825-1919	1384
18. Lieutenant-Colonel Stepney Cowell's campaign to get the 10 th Duke of Hamilton's son, the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, to marry the Princess Marie of Baden (the daughter of the adopted daughter of the Emperor Napoleon)	1401
19. The Acquisition of the Thorvaldsen Bust of <i>Napoleon Apotheosized</i>	1433
20. The 11 th Duke of Hamilton and Princess Marie of Baden's acquisition of items relating to Napoleon I and Napoleon III and the 12 th Duke of Hamilton's involvement with Napoleon III and the Empress Eugénie	1440

Introduction

This thesis examines Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton, who was mainly responsible for developing Hamilton Palace, in Hamilton, Lanarkshire, into the largest palace or country house in Scotland and filling it with a fabulous collection of superb French furniture and other works of art. The prime aim has been to establish exactly what the 10th Duke did, the chronological sequence and motivation. Establishing exactly what the 10th Duke did is absolutely essential because the activities of the Dukes of Hamilton after 1780 have received very little scholarly attention, and there is a persistent desire or willingness to give William Beckford, the Duke's father-in-law, the lion's share of the credit for the transformation of the collection.

The main difficulty in assessing the Duke, his forebears and successors has been the dispersal of most of the collection, chiefly in two series of great sales in 1882-84 and 1919, and the demolition of the palace in the 1920s. Much of the research has gone into finding and transcribing key inventories, letters, bills, lists and other documentary evidence, and locating and evaluating items that are now spread across Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. However, the author has also sought to map out the development of the 10th Duke's patronage and collecting and understand how the various stages were affected by the Duke's perception of his status, Whig politics, veneration of Sir William Hamilton, rivalry with Beckford, King George IV and other collectors, claim to the French dukedom of Châtellerault, and his interest in Napoleon and involvement with the Bonaparte family. During the first year of research, it became evident that the Duke was not as rich as people assumed: indeed, he was heavily in debt and kept solvent by an ever-changing assemblage of loans from private individuals and banks. The thesis therefore seeks to show how the Duke was constrained by a combination of debt and mortgages, but was able, from the early 1820s, to use the rising revenues from increasing sales of coal and later industrial rents to turn Hamilton Palace into a daunting "powerhouse" and an almost unbelievable treasure house, and then go on to build the Hamilton Mausoleum.

Amazingly, there has been very little study of the Duke's activities as the top-ranking Whig in Scotland, a territorial magnate with large coal deposits and links with leading iron and steelmakers, supporter of the Bonaparte family, or patron and collector. One reason has been the disappearance of the palace and most of the collection, along with the coal mines and iron and steel works. Another is that the majority of the relevant papers are still owned by the Hamilton family and are divided between Lennoxlove (with access to small batches being arranged through the National Register of Archives of Scotland) and Hamilton Town House Library, which houses inventories, letter books and other items which were not taken to Lennoxlove when the Estate Office at Hamilton closed. Moreover, two important sections of the Hamilton-Beckford archive, with "missing papers", have been sold and are now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Beinecke Library at Yale.

Thus, the principal publications about the Duke's patronage and collecting have been limited to A.A. Tait's short article on "The Duke of Hamilton's Palace" in the *Burlington Magazine* in 1983, with an appendix of letters relating to the commissioning and completion of Jacques-Louis David's portrait of *The Emperor Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries*; articles and notes on the French furniture owned by the Duke, written by Ronald Freyberger in New York between about 1981 and 1993; and the present writer's conference paper on Italian Old Master paintings and the 9th and 10th Dukes of Hamilton in the *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History* of 2003. There is also Michael Allan's 1976 final year dissertation on the Hamilton Mausoleum. In addition, Julia Poole's article on Napoleon's 1810 tea service in the 1977 *Burlington Magazine* provides some information about its acquisition by the Duke twenty years later.

This is an insultingly small coverage when set alongside the vast literature on Beckford. It is also marred by mistakes in Tait's article¹ and insufficiently redeemed by more general assessments and "appreciations" of Hamilton Palace, which may use

¹ Tait's article contains incorrect dates, viz. the dates of the Percier commission as 1822, instead of 1827 (first paragraph), and the Fonthill and Stowe sales as 1825 and 1849, rather than 1823 and 1848. He was also wrong about the della Lena sales of paintings to the Duke, believing that *Hercules and Telephus* were two statues, and stating that Thomas Campbell had begun work on the proposed full-size copy of the equestrian statue of *Marcus Aurelius* in 1848 and that it was destined for the first-floor Entrance Hall of Hamilton Palace – to mention just a few points.

nineteenth-century inventories and other sources but fail to explain what the items actually are and to “connect” them and explore themes.

The methodology used has been to go through as much as possible in the Hamilton archive, Hamilton Town House Library and the Bodleian; quickly check likely folders in the Beinecke Library; make connections; and develop all this with material in the Devonshire Papers at Chatsworth, Robert Brown Executory Papers in the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, Roscoe Papers in Liverpool Central Library, Newcastle Papers in the University of Nottingham, and other manuscripts in the British Library, Edinburgh University Library, National Archives of Scotland, National Library of Scotland and National Archives at Kew. Information from accounts of visits to Hamilton Palace, contemporary sale catalogues (including annotated copies in the Barber Institute of Art, Bodleian, British Library and National Art Library) and newspaper reports has been interwoven with the archival findings. Extensive use has also been made of the Witt Library at the Courtauld Institute, the Frick Library, New York, and the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

The thesis and twenty appendices, with over a thousand pages of transcripts, annotated inventories and other supporting evidence, provide an enormous quantity of fresh material and interpretation and will, it is hoped, lead to articles and a book, as well as further contributions to the IT programmes of the Virtual Hamilton Palace Trust (on which the writer serves as one of the Directors).

I must end by acknowledging the present Duke of Hamilton and Brandon for his very kind permission to study and use the papers at Lennoxlove and Hamilton. I am also very much obliged to all the curators and librarians who have assisted me, and would like to record my special thanks to the following for all their help and support: Julia Armstrong-Totten, Dr David Caldwell, Odile and David Hughson, Helen Smailes, Joyce Smith, Professor Richard Thomson, Peter Wilmshurst and David Young. Others are acknowledged in the footnotes.

Note: Plans of the first and ground floors of Hamilton Palace will be found at the back of this thesis, on the last two pages.

Abbreviations

Bod Bodleian Library, Oxford
BL British Library, London
EUL Edinburgh University Library
GRI Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles
HA Hamilton Archive, Lennoxlove
HELB Hamilton Estate Letter Book
HTHL Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton
ML Mitchell Library, Glasgow
NA National Archives, Kew
NAS National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh
NLS National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
UNMSC Manuscripts and Special Collections, University of Nottingham
1882 HPSC 1882 Hamilton Palace sale catalogue
1882 HPSSC 1882 Hamilton Palace souvenir post-sale catalogue

The Formative Years, 1767-1806, and the Early Collecting of Paintings and Manuscripts

Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton (1767-1852), was the elder son of Lord Archibald Hamilton, second son of the 5th Duke of Hamilton, and his wife Harriet, a daughter of the 6th Earl of Galloway. Alexander only became duke because Douglas, 8th Duke of Hamilton, died without legitimate issue, at the age of only forty-three, in 1799 and the dukedoms of Hamilton and Brandon passed to his father. For the first thirty-one years of his life he was simply Master or Mister Alexander Hamilton. He would have had relatively little money prior to 1799 and must have been reliant upon his father and restricted in his actions until 1802, when the 9th Duke gave him (limited) control of the Hamilton estates in Scotland. In this chapter we examine the early development of Scotland's greatest collector, both to understand what took place during this formative period, and to be able to appreciate the extent of continuity and change in his later collecting and patronage.

Beginnings

Alexander Hamilton was born on 3 October 1767 and lived at Ashton Hall, his father's seat near Lancaster, and in London during his youth. He was educated at Harrow under the Reverend Samuel Henley, the friend and translator of his cousin, the future great collector William Beckford (1760-1844), and enjoyed reading Virgil (especially the death of Dido), Horace, Ovid and Catullus – as he informed Beckford.¹

Alexander and his brother Archibald visited Beckford at his family home, Fonthill Splendens in Wiltshire, on a number of occasions in the early 1780s and the adolescent Alexander developed a crush on his older (bisexual) relative. In one letter Alexander assured Beckford: "I am happy whenever with my Dear William".² In another, he confided: "I often think of our gambole that sunday night, but with great

¹ Bod, MS. Beckford c.20, f.7v, Alexander Hamilton to William Beckford, undated, postmarked 22 April.

² *Ibid.*, f.3r, Alexander Hamilton to William Beckford, undated.

regret, for you are now in a manner banished, and I fear I shall not see you for some time, and when we do meet, shall not have such a fine night".³

In April 1782 Sir Joshua Reynolds painted a portrait of Alexander (National Gallery of Scotland) for Beckford,⁴ which shows the fourteen-year-old with long curly hair and an open frilly shirt (Fig.1). It is a disturbing image, given Beckford's taste for young men and the scandal of his affair with William Courtenay in October 1784 and subsequent ostracism. Nevertheless, Alexander seems to have emerged unscathed, and was able to go up to Christ Church, Oxford (March 1786-February 1789), where most of the sons of the aristocracy were educated in the late eighteenth century.

Early Collecting: the Activities of Father and Son

Alexander was very conscious of his father's example. Lord Archibald had made a "Grand Tour" of France, Switzerland, Germany and what are now the Netherlands and Belgium between 1753 and 1757 and had lived in Rome, Venice and other Italian towns from 1758 to 1761. Alexander followed his lead and ended up spending most of the decade 1792-1801 in Italy. Moreover, Lord Archibald was a collector of paintings and prints, who was involved with the painter and dealer Gavin Hamilton, and Alexander wanted to act like him.

Lord Archibald and Gavin Hamilton had met in London in the early 1790s and begun to investigate a number of potential acquisitions, including a Veronese in Venice (which they failed to get) and a *Christ at Emmaus* attributed to Titian, that Hamilton advised Lord Archibald not to buy.⁵ But in June 1791 there was the prospect of no fewer than five good acquisitions: "four fine pictures of Vernet", for only £50 each, and an octagonal *Stoning of St Stephen* by the Roman painter Filippo Lauri (1623-94), for a further £50, which Hamilton asserted was "the finest thing I ever saw of the master".⁶

³ *Ibid.*, f.5v, Hamilton to Beckford, dated "Wednesday / August".

⁴ Mannings 2000, I, p.235, no.807.

⁵ HA, Bundle 3509, Gavin Hamilton to Lord Archibald Hamilton, 26 June 1791.

⁶ *Ibid.* A sketch enclosed with the letter, together with the measurements of 2 feet 1 inch by 1 foot 6 inches noted in the letter, reveal that this was almost identical to the *Lapidation de Saint Étienne* by Lauri now in the Musée des Augustins, Toulouse, and related versions and copies: see Paris, Grand Palais 1988, pp.258-9.

Lord Archibald duly ordered that the paintings should be sent to Britain, and his son set out on a “Grand Tour”. Rushing down from Geneva and Turin *en-route* to Naples at the end of 1791, the twenty-four-year-old would-be man of the world and aspiring collector stopped briefly in Rome, visited Gavin Hamilton and made an impulsive purchase. He was sorely tempted by two of the four “landskapes” attributed to Claude Lorrain that were available, but “as the price was immoderate”, he “confined” himself to just one: “a sea piece with a fine setting sun”.⁷ Alexander agreed to pay Hamilton £500, gave him a letter to the bank of Hoare & Company for £150 and promised to let him have the rest before the first of May. Almost immediately, Alexander realised that he had overreached himself and on 8 January 1792 wrote to his father for help and support.⁸

As chance would have it, six days earlier Lord Archibald had damned and refused to take the “four fine pictures of Vernet” and *Stoning of St Stephen* attributed to “Filippo Lauro” that had been sent by Hamilton:

The four Landscapes appear to me to be four bad copies of very fine designs as good are painted here & sold for 3 or 4 g[uinea]s each. S^t Stephen appears to be copied very carefully on a piece of mahog[a]ny & is a poor thin Painted thing with[ou]t any thing to recommend it, in short it appears to me a bad copy & not a very old one [...] The Pictures I can not think of Keeping at any price & I shall expect to be reimburs’d except y^e Freight from & back to Rome [...] ⁹

Soon after sending his letter, Alexander gave up the “Claude”. On 5 February he admitted to Lord Archibald: “I feel as tho’ I had done a very young thing”, and hoped that he would “profit by the lesson”.¹⁰ Eighteen days later, Alexander reflected upon his “folly” and the problem his father had had with the “Vernets” and the “Lauri” and observed:

I fear he [Gavin Hamilton] is rather a near person & will not upon any occasion lose an opportunity of gaining a little money; I shall therefore be very shy in any transactions we may henceforward have together _ He has written to me about two or three things, to which I have given vague

⁷ HA, Bundle 4336, Alexander Hamilton to Lord Archibald, 8 January 1792.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ HA, Bundle 3509, draft letter from Lord Archibald to Gavin Hamilton, 2 January 1792. At Gavin Hamilton’s request, the paintings were sent to Lord Camelford and Lord Archibald received reimbursement of £250, albeit in a way that offended him: see *ibid.*, Gavin Hamilton to Lord Archibald, 11 February 1792, and also Bundle 4336, letters from Alexander Hamilton to Lord Archibald, 16 March and 13 May 1792.

¹⁰ HA, Bundle 4336, Alexander Hamilton to Lord Archibald, 5 February 1792.

answers; but upon my arrival at Rome we must have a little conversation

¹¹

Although Lord Archibald seems to have been very understanding and supportive, Alexander was not to be swayed. On 16 March, he declared he was “so much frightened, & so suspicious”, both of the painting and of the dealer, that he was “resolved to decline the picture”.¹²

The fiasco over the “Claude” had a very chastening effect and seems to have constrained Alexander’s purchasing over the next six or seven years.

After leaving Rome, Alexander moved down to Naples, where he was treated with great kindness – as he repeatedly told his father – by Sir William Hamilton, the British envoy to the court of Naples and son of the seventh son of the 3rd Duke of Hamilton, and his second wife, Emma. In his letter of 28 March 1792, Alexander announced to Lord Archibald: “[Sir William] is the best man in the world, & I declare next to yourself I do not know where I could go to find so good a friend.”¹³

A few months later, Lord Archibald allowed himself to be persuaded to visit Naples by Alexander and Sir William and a bout of collecting ensued – encouraged, no doubt, by Sir William’s own activities. Lord Archibald subsequently moved north and, on 1 July 1793, engaged to pay John Udney, the British consul at Leghorn, £500 for unspecified items. These “goods” reached England that December,¹⁴ and Lord Archibald’s bank records payments of £483 18s for the items on 8 November and £16 2s, which had been “claim’d by His Lordship for Insurance”, on 18 December 1793.¹⁵

Nothing more is known about the Italian acquisitions, but the visit and collecting seem to have stimulated Lord Archibald to buy a succession of works from

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Alexander Hamilton to Lord Archibald, 23 February 1792.

¹² *Ibid.*, Alexander Hamilton to Lord Archibald, 16 March 1792. Like the “Vernets” and the “Lauri” rejected by Lord Archibald, Alexander’s “Claude”, along with the other three “Claudes”, was sold by Gavin Hamilton to Thomas Pitt, 1st Baron Camelford (1737-93): see Cassidy 2004, p.810, n.37. The four “Claudes” were included in Farebrother, Ellis & Company’s sale of the remaining contents of Dropmore, Burnham, Buckinghamshire, on 27 February 1939, as lots 207, 208, 215 and 216. Alexander’s “sea piece with a fine setting sun” must be the “large” painting of a “sea view with the setting sun”, mentioned by Anne Pitt, Lord Camelford’s daughter, and was therefore lot 208: “Claude Lorraine. A Court scene, with native dhow and merchants; in the centre a Temple, classic architecture on the left”, which measured 39 x 53½ inches.

¹³ HA, Bundle 4336, Alexander Hamilton to Lord Archibald, 28 March 1792.

¹⁴ HA, Bundle 3141, Lord Archibald Hamilton to Hoare & Co., 17 December 1793.

¹⁵ HA, Bundle 3141.

the London picture-dealer John Woodburn. To date, a dozen bills, drafts and receipts, along with allied documentation, have been found which reveal that “John Woodburn” received at least £660 2s 6d between January 1794 and April 1797.¹⁶

Very little correspondence has been discovered so far in the Hamilton archive about these purchases and Lord Archibald’s collection in the 1790s, but a letter from John Woodburn to Lord Archibald, dated 9 July 1795, records that Woodburn had “got the two Murillo’s, and the Old Woman, Rembrandt, to take off the Varnish”.¹⁷ They were probably the “Two of Beggar Boys [by] Murillo” and the “Old Woman cutting her nails [by] Rembrandt” listed on an inventory of eighty-five paintings annotated “Archibald Duke of Hamilton” that will be discussed shortly.¹⁸ Nothing more is known about the “Murillos”, but the “Rembrandt” may be the *Old Woman cutting her Nails* from the Altman Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, which was formerly ascribed to Rembrandt and is now attributed to the Dordrecht painters Nicolaes Maes, Karel van der Pluym or Abraham van Dijk.¹⁹

Woodburn goes on to mention that he had spent “more time than we expected” working on “the Venus attired by the Graces [by] Guido” (i.e. Guido Reni) and had not obtained the “Peterborough Rembrandt”.²⁰ He thanks Lord Archibald for granting permission for his son to copy “the Teniers”, begs “permission to copy the small Teniers and one or two more during your Lordships absence if agre[e]able”, and asks for the thirty pounds due to him. On the front of the letter, Lord Archibald notes that he paid the dealer the thirty pounds on 12 July.

The inventory annotated “Archibald Duke of Hamilton” (which appears transcribed and annotated in Appendix 1) is undated and lists paintings in “His Lordships Room”, the “Dining parlour”, “Back Drawing Room” and “Front Drawing

¹⁶ The payments to “John Woodburn” include:

14 January 1794	£31 8s 6d	23 May 1794	£36 14s
28 January 1794	£60	16 June 1794	£65
10 February 1794	£42	28 June 1794	£50
8 March 1794	£60	22 June 1796	£100
24 March 1794	£50	18 August 1796	£50
11 April 1794	£40	11 April 1797	£75

See HA, Bundles 1331, 3141 and 3683.

¹⁷ HA, M4/55, John Woodburn to 9th Duke, 9 July 1795.

¹⁸ HA, M12/25/1; see Appendix 1, entries 31 and 26 respectively.

¹⁹ See Appendix 1, no.26.

²⁰ HA, M4/55, Woodburn to 9th Duke, 9 July 1795.

Room”.²¹ It either records Lord Archibald’s paintings hanging in his London townhouse in the 1790s, when he was still “His Lordship”, rather than “His Grace”, or the paintings in his son’s room and adjacent rooms in London or at Hamilton Palace in the early 1800s, after he became Lord Douglas and “His Lordship”. It is still too early to come to a final conclusion about the location,²² but the list clearly includes many Dutch, Flemish and Italian paintings which must have been owned or actually acquired by Lord Archibald.

Some of the paintings are known to have been on the art market in the 1780s and 1790s,²³ when only Lord Archibald would have been financially and physically able to have bought them. However, the really compelling evidence that Lord Archibald was a serial collector is the collection of sale catalogues in the Hamilton archive. They leave one in no doubt that he was the man chiefly responsible for acquiring most of the paintings on the “Archibald Duke of Hamilton” inventory and

²¹ HA, M12/25/1 & 2.

²² The names of the rooms are very close to “My Lords Room”, “Dining parlour”, “Drawing Room” and “Back Drawing Room” on the 1790 inventory of Lord Archibald’s house in Grosvenor Place, London (see HA, Bundle 2152, *Inventory of the Household Furniture Belonging to the Right Honble. Lord Archibald Hamilton. No 11 Grosvenor place Taken June the 15th & 16th: 1790*, pp.3-5) and some of the titles on the list (e.g. Poussin’s *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*) were either definitely moved or were probably moved up to Hamilton Palace between 1799 and 1801. However, the association with the London townhouse and dating of the inventory to the 1790s appear to be compromised by the presence on the list of the painting of “King Edw.^d 6th. [by] Holbeins” (see entry 50 on the annotated inventory in Appendix 1). This seems to be the portrait that Dr S.H. Spiker, the librarian to the King of Prussia, saw at Hamilton Palace in 1816 and described as: “Edward VI., a whole length figure, by Holbein, the only portrait of that king I recollect having seen in England, and very powerfully painted” (Spiker 1820, I, p.248). Spiker’s comments suggest that this is synonymous with the portrait of *Edward VI* acquired by Queen Victoria after the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, which is now at Hampton Court and attributed to Scrots (Millar 1963, p.66, no.49). The problem is that this portrait bears a *cartellino* of the type painted on pictures owned by John, 1st Baron Lumley (d.1609), and appears to be listed on the inventory of Lord Lumley’s collection, among the “Pictures caryinge the fowrme of the whole Statuary”, as “The Statuary of his [King Henry VIII’s] sonne King Edward the sixt drawne by [left blank]” (Cust 1918, p.21). *Edward VI* was later recorded in the Lodging Rooms at Lumley Castle and was apparently sold at Thomas Dawson’s sale of the 5th Earl of Scarborough’s possessions at Lumley Castle on 18 December 1807 as lot 9: “Edward the 6th. a full length” (see Appendix 1, no.50, for further details and discussion).

²³ I associate the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* by Poussin with the “The entombing of Christ – A grand and noble composition, very capital”, attributed to “N. Poussin”, that was included in Coxe, Burrell and Foster’s sale of Michael Bryan’s collection on 18 May 1798 (lot 21): see Appendix 1, 78. Two of the Rubens paintings would also have been available to Lord Archibald. The “small landscape a Sketch [by] Rubens” on the “Archibald Duke of Hamilton” inventory seems to be the sketch of a landscape with a hanged man now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, linked with the sale of P.J. de Waepenaert’s collection in Bruges on 30 May 1774; while the “Small head [by] Rubens” on the same inventory appears to be the grisaille portrait of Gasparo de Guzman, Count of Olivarez (now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels), believed to have been included in the auction of the collection of J.B. Horion in Brussels on 1 September 1788: see Appendix 1, 6 and 25 for further information about these works.

the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (which is published, also fully annotated, as Appendix 2).

This remarkable group includes copies of the sale catalogues of the collections of Sir Lawrence Dundas (29-31 May 1794),²⁴ Sir Joshua Reynolds (March 1795),²⁵ Charles-Alexandre de Calonne (23-28 March 1795),²⁶ Benjamin van der Gucht (11-12 March 1796),²⁷ John Barnard (16 April-12 May 1798),²⁸ Michael Bryan (17-19 May 1798),²⁹ John, Duke of Argyll (25-26 May 1798),³⁰ the duc d'Orléans (14 February 1800)³¹ and Robert Udny (18-19 May 1804),³² as well as the Reynolds studio sale (14-16 April 1796).³³ These catalogues definitely belonged to Lord Archibald, either because they are annotated by him or because the sales took place when Alexander was abroad. The catalogues of the Dundas, van der Gucht, Reynolds, Barnard and Udny sales are identified, on the fronts or along the sides of the spines, in Lord Archibald's large, bad, distinctive handwriting: "Dunda's Sale of Pictures", "Sale of Van Der Gucht's Pictures March — 1796", "S^r Jos^a. Reynolds Greenwood April 1796", "J: Barnard Esq^r.. Sale of Prints ap^l 16th 1798", and "M^r Udney's Collection Purchasers mark'd".

As plain, unannotated catalogues, they would indicate a serious interest in the art market and the acquisition of works of art. But they actually constitute a quite exceptional reference collection and working tool for a collector. Setting aside the Barnard catalogue, which is an unannotated catalogue of a massive assemblage of prints, all the other catalogues have handwritten prices beside virtually all the lots. Both the Reynolds catalogues and the Udny catalogue record almost all the buyers' names, while the Calonne catalogue has most of their names. Amazingly, the catalogues of the Calonne, Reynolds studio sale, Bryan and Udny collections also have handwritten entries about the lots that were added to these four sales.

²⁴ HA, M4/52.

²⁵ HA, M4/53.

²⁶ HA, M4/54.

²⁷ HA, M4/56. Van der Gucht and Bryan were dealers.

²⁸ HA, M4/58.

²⁹ HA, M4/59. There are apparently two more copies of the Bryan sale catalogue in the Hamilton archive, M4/60 and M4/61, but they have been missing from their correct locations for a few years.

³⁰ HA, M4/62.

³¹ HA, M4/64.

³² HA, M4/65.

³³ HA, M4/57.

It is a fascinating body of material and is made even more interesting because Lord Archibald himself seems to have annotated some of the catalogues with prices and sums. The belief that he was responsible for some of the annotations is confirmed by a sentence at the foot of a page in the Udny catalogue, in his unmistakable handwriting: "so I regularly sett d [i.e. settled] & now I can not [beat or bear] y^e trouble".³⁴ Lord Archibald had been adding up the prices of the lots at the bottoms of the pages, and had got over two-thirds of the way through the catalogue. Gout, migraine or depression had overcome him, and he had been forced to give up, only four pages from the end.

The Marquis of Douglas begins to collect in earnest

During this time, Alexander had moved north and was living in Tuscany, Venice and the Veneto in the late 1790-early 1800s. He almost certainly acquired items in the late 1790s, but the lack of documentation in the Hamilton archive suggests that he only bought really important and expensive paintings, and manuscripts and books in quantity, after his father became 9th Duke of Hamilton in August 1799.

The 9th Duke responded to his elevation by ordering silver and silver-plated items. Between December 1799 and April 1800 John Stedman supplied him with additional silver and some silver-plated pieces worth £260 19s;³⁵ and in May 1800 Thomas Howard provided him with a silver-plated dinner service, engraved with ducal coronets and crests, costing £832 0s 6d.³⁶ This was actually very modest expenditure because a silver service of the same size would have cost over £5,000, and is in line with the 9th Duke's purchases of furniture and furnishings from Gillows, the well-known makers in his home town of Lancaster.³⁷

The new duke also took possession of Hamilton Palace, at Hamilton in Lanarkshire, and the Hamilton estates and discovered a very tangled state of affairs. His predecessor had been divorced by his wife in 1794 and lived with an actress,

³⁴ HA, M4/65, p.15.

³⁵ HA, Bundle 3715, itemised bill from John Stedman to the 9th Duke of Hamilton for 16 December 1799 to 19 April 1800.

³⁶ HA, M12/5/15, itemised bill from T. Howard to the 9th Duke, dated 20 May 1800.

³⁷ Gillow's itemised bills for 1801-4 are in HA, Bundles 3617 and 4471.

Harriet Esten,³⁸ who had given birth to the couple's illegitimate daughter, Anne Douglas Hamilton.³⁹ Duke Douglas had given and bequeathed money, lands, leases and belongings to his mistress and daughter. The 8th Duke had a perfect right to leave his personal estate to them, but there was confusion as to what was personal or entailed estate, and whether the entail had been broken, either completely or in some areas, with the death of the 8th Duke. In short, there was considerable scope for claim and counter claim and for legal action.⁴⁰

The 9th Duke was faced with the removal of paintings, furniture and silver from Hamilton Palace and the ducal apartments in the Palace of Holyroodhouse, in Edinburgh, and decided to settle with Mrs Esten and her daughter. The paintings in Hamilton Palace were valued at £5,139 18s and those at Holyroodhouse at £293 16s.⁴¹ The total value of the 8th Duke's moveable estate came to £13,742 4s 2d, and on 2 July 1802 the 9th Duke eventually paid £7,000, leaving a balance of £6,742 4s 2d "bearing Interest". Although this solved the immediate problem, the final settlement with the Duke's illegitimate daughter was not resolved until the 1820s and cost £60,000 plus interest.⁴²

Alexander was naturally exhilarated by his own advancement to Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale (the courtesy title used by the eldest sons and heirs of the Dukes of Hamilton) and the opportunity of becoming a major collector. He would probably have received an additional allowance or extra funds from his father, or have anticipated that more resources would be forthcoming, and must have quickly

³⁸ It was not unusual for the aristocracy to live with actresses in this period. The Duke of Clarence (later King William IV) and Mrs Jordan lived together from at least 1791 and the 12th Earl of Derby married his long-term love, Elizabeth Farren, a few weeks after the death of his first wife (the daughter of the 6th Duke of Hamilton) in 1797. However, the 8th Duke's widely publicized separation from his highly respected wife and subsequent activities led to much greater scandal, especially in Presbyterian Scotland. The scandal was reignited in February 1797 when Harriet Esten's former husband sought to prove, in a case heard before the Court of the King's Bench, Westminster, that the Duke had debauched, seduced, and had "criminal conversation" with his wife (see the law report in the *Times*, 23 February 1797). Harriet Esten married John Scott-Waring, a former MP for West Looe and Stockbridge and supporter of Warren Hastings, in 1812.

³⁹ The 8th Duke's daughter married Henry Robert Westenra, later 2nd/3rd Baron Rossmore of Monaghan, in 1820.

⁴⁰ For some of the 8th Duke's provisions between 1795 and 1799, see the undated "Case" prepared for the 9th Duke in HA, Bundle 1190. Legal opinions obtained by the 8th Duke in 1798 about leasing to his "female friend" are in NLS, Adv. MS. 24.2.8, ff.36-43.

⁴¹ EUL, La.II.509.722, *Value of Furniture &c at Hamilton Palace &c at the time of the late Duke of Hamilton's death*.

⁴² The final settlement was eventually agreed between Lord Archibald Hamilton (the 10th Duke's brother) and "Mr Westenra" in November 1820: see HA, Bundle 1767, draft letter Brown to Young, 26 November 1820, and Bod, MS. Beckford c.39, f.29, Brown to 10th Duke, 1 January 1822.

realized that he could now buy large paintings suitable for a palace. The great mystery is to what extent, over the next year, Douglas (as Alexander must now be called) was acting on his own initiative. He must have received some information from his father about the problems with the Hamilton estates and Hamilton Palace, and this may have spurred him on, but did he also receive encouragement and even direction from the 9th Duke?⁴³

In April 1800 – eight months after his father inherited the dukedoms – Douglas bought the colossal, almost 400-centimetre-high altarpiece of the *Madonna and Child with Saints* by Girolamo dai Libri, which now dominates the Early Renaissance Gallery in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Fig.2).⁴⁴ It had been painted for the Augustinian church of San Leonardo nel Monte, outside Verona, about 1520, and is discussed and praised by Vasari.⁴⁵

The Girolamo dai Libri altarpiece fits in with Douglas's later concentrated collecting of Italian fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century books, manuscripts and paintings and seems to be very much a personal "trophy" acquisition, but the attempt to secure an even more outstanding work – Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne* (now in the National Gallery, London) – is more problematic.

The former soldier and dabbler-in-art Pryse Lockhart Gordon recounts in his *Memoirs*, written in the late 1820s and published in 1830, that he received "a commission" from the "Duke of Hamilton" to buy *Bacchus and Ariadne* from the Roman dealer Alexander Day while he was in Italy with Lord Montgomery, the son of the Earl of Eglinton, between 1797 and 1800.⁴⁶ At first sight, "Duke of Hamilton" would seem to refer to a direct commission from the 9th Duke of Hamilton, but it is important to note that the *Memoirs* appeared when Douglas was Duke of Hamilton

⁴³ To a large extent this question must be linked to how serious the 9th Duke was about rebuilding or remodelling the palace in 1800. A set of "Plans and Elevations for His Grace the Duke of Hamilton & Brandon for enlarging and improving the Palace at Hamilton" by Robert Burn, dated 14 October 1800 (whereabouts unknown), records a proposal to transform Hamilton Palace into an Adamesque castle, with a rusticated basement, Venetian windows on the first floor, and a small central drum with shallow dome and oculus, flanked by shallow domes at the corners. The existing evidence suggests that these plans were a response to the poor state of the existing palace and that the 9th Duke started to turn his back on the palace and the Scottish estates before the year was out. Nevertheless, during 1800 he was contemplating improving the palace and may have been willing, if not eager, to support his son's collecting.

⁴⁴ See Gardner 1972, pp.71-2.

⁴⁵ Bettarini 1976, pp.595-6.

⁴⁶ Gordon 1830, II, pp.12-3.

and that another reference to the “Duke of Hamilton” owning “specimens” attributed to Cellini definitely relates to the 10th Duke.⁴⁷ Moreover, it is hard to see how the 9th Duke could have commissioned Gordon, whereas Douglas was in Italy and much more aware of what was available and able to direct Gordon.

It therefore seems that Douglas commissioned Gordon to buy *Bacchus and Ariadne*. That, though, is not to say that the 9th Duke was totally uninvolved: he presumably held the purse strings and may have influenced Douglas in some way.

Gordon’s account of his visit reveals that he was in Rome between about October 1799 and April 1800 and establishes that he would have discussed the matter with Day during these months. Unfortunately, the “Duke” limited Gordon to £500 and this proved insufficient. Later, Gordon learned that £700 would have secured this stupendous work.

All things considered, it looks as though Douglas was the prime mover in trying to buy the Titian and that he was stymied by limited funds and his other interests and commitments.

Douglas also acquired a number of other smaller paintings around this time. “Una Cassetta contenente Due Quadri depinte in Oglio” was shipped on “L’Adamant” around 13 May, no year given.⁴⁸ They were sent with “Una Cassetta contenente un Violon con Carta di Musica”, which seems to equate with “1 Case Violins & Musick” from the “Adamant” received by Messrs Warren & Jenkins around early October 1800.⁴⁹

The following year, Douglas bought the *Portrait of a Man* by Antonello da Messina, dated 1474 (Staatliche Museen, Berlin) (Fig.3). In his book on Antonello published eight years later, in 1809, Puccini states that this was purchased from Giovanni Maria Sasso,⁵⁰ the central figure in the Venetian art market at this time, and it is clear that other works acquired by Douglas are also associated with Sasso. The Girolamo dai Libri altarpiece was sold to Douglas by Sasso’s friend, the Bolognese

⁴⁷ ‘The Duke of Hamilton also possesses various fine specimens of chasing by this great artist. His Grace has a noble collection of every thing that belongs to art, and may be considered “*un véritable connoisseur*”’: *ibid.*, II, p.81.

⁴⁸ HA, Bundle 3715, shipping note signed “Gug[liel]mo Watson”, dated 13 May. The crates were “Directed A Sua Eccellenza Il Duca di Hamilton”.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, bill from Robert Hotchon to Messrs Warren & Jenkins, dated 2 October 1800.

⁵⁰ Puccini 1809, p.13.

dealer Giovanni Antonio Armano, and is mentioned in their correspondence,⁵¹ while other paintings – such as the double-portrait of Lodovico Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua and his wife, Barbara of Brandenburg, which was then attributed to Mantegna and is now regarded as after the master (Fig.4)⁵² – have Venetian provenances and are referred to in Sasso's letters.⁵³

Douglas certainly managed to acquire some important paintings between 1799 and 1802, but the evidence in the Hamilton archive indicates that the 9th Duke was primarily responsible for the first enrichment of the Hamilton collection under the New Dispensation. The 2nd Viscount Palmerston dined at Hamilton Palace in October 1800 and noted that, while some of the best pictures, including the full-length portraits by Van Dyck and Rubens's *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in the Long Gallery, had been there a long time: "The remainder have been brought down by the present Duke, who as well as his son, the Marquis of Douglas, has been a considerable collector".⁵⁴ Regrettably, Palmerston does not elaborate, but the painter and diarist Joseph Farington (who visited the palace almost exactly a year later) states that the 9th Duke was responsible for introducing the Poussin of the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* (now in the National Gallery of Ireland) into the palace.⁵⁵ Farington continues with the remark that the Duke "appears by the additions He has made to have a taste for pictures".

Douglas was certainly keen to acquire paintings, but the Hamilton archive indicates that he was much more active as a collector of manuscripts and books in this early period, and that we should see him, first and foremost, as a collector of manuscripts and fifteenth- and sixteenth-century books rather than as a connoisseur and collector of Old Masters.

Douglas's principal manuscript "trophy" during his first spending spree appears to have been the so-called *Golden Gospels* (now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York), which was apparently produced by sixteen scribes in the

⁵¹ Gardner 1972, p.72.

⁵² The double portrait is discussed in Lightbown 1986, pp.473-4.

⁵³ In the life of Mantegna, in the 1849 Milanese edition of Vasari, the Marchese Pietro Selvatico cites a letter from Sasso to Giovanni de' Lazzara, which records that the double portrait was in Venice in the late eighteenth century, and notes that it was purchased by "Lord Hamilton": see Milanese 1849, V, pp.193-4

⁵⁴ Connell 1957, p.430.

⁵⁵ Garlick and MacIntyre 1979, p.1682.

Benedictine abbey of St Maximin, Trier, in the late tenth century, probably as a gift for the Emperor Otto III.⁵⁶ Such gold on purple manuscripts, with their purple/imperial associations, were highly prized, and the *Golden Gospels* had the added attraction that it was believed to have been presented to King Henry VIII by Pope Leo X, when the pontiff bestowed the title *Defensor Fidei* upon him in 1521.⁵⁷ Douglas celebrated and commemorated the acquisition of the *Gospels* by writing his name and the date – “Douglas & Clydesdale _ 1800 _” – in large, assertive, triumphant handwriting on the fly-leaf, over an erased reference to a previous owner, Ralph Palmer of Little Chelsea.⁵⁸

Douglas’s other early acquisitions include at least thirty manuscripts purchased in Italy between 1799 and 1801. The key sources of information are the list of over eighty “libri” packed in Venice for sending to London in July 1801⁵⁹ and the list of twenty-five “Maniscritti da me acquistati in Italia”, written by Douglas himself on paper watermarked with the date 1802.⁶⁰ Along with other lists and letters, they reveal that Douglas was principally interested, at this date, in Italian manuscripts and books of the fifteenth century, Classical texts, Venetian history, and Dante, Petrarch, and other Italian poets.⁶¹

The list of “libri” is extremely cryptic, ranging from seven words to an author’s name, and does not enable one to “match” more than a handful of entries to manuscripts and books formerly in the Hamilton collection with any certainty or conviction. However, Douglas’s own list is sufficiently detailed that we can identify

⁵⁶ For a discussion of the manuscript itself, see Lowe 1954, pp.266-79.

⁵⁷ I am most grateful to Dr William M. Voelke and Sylvie Merian for allowing me to study the “Golden Gospels” in 2002. The alleged provenance is given, in eighteenth-century handwriting, on the fly-leaf. The Gospels did belong to Henry VIII, but the high number 957 suggests that they were a later acquisition.

⁵⁸ It is far from clear how Douglas acquired the Gospels – presumably from an English source – as early as 1800. Another manuscript formerly in Palmer’s library – the early illuminated register of Furness Abbey, Lancaster (BL, Add. Ms 33247; formerly Berlin, Hamilton 269) – is recorded among the seventy-five manuscripts and books in Douglas’s possession published by William Clarke in his *Repertorium Bibliographicum* (London, 1819), pp.257-64 (see the fully annotated transcript of this list in Appendix 3 of this thesis, entry 62). In addition, Douglas also owned two other Palmer manuscripts: Guilelmus Redonensis, *Apparatus super summam de casibus*, English, second half of the thirteenth century (Berlin, Hamilton 30) and Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, late twelfth and fourteenth centuries (Berlin, Hamilton 503). He may therefore have acquired at least one other Palmer manuscript at the same time as the Gospels, from the same source.

⁵⁹ HA, M12/30/unnumbered, “Lista dei libri messi in una casse per Lond[ra or on] il di 22 Luglio 1801 Mestre”.

⁶⁰ HA, M12/30/38, list of manuscripts acquired in Italy by the Marquis of Douglas, written by Lord Douglas on paper watermarked “E & P / 1802”. Both lists are in Appendix 4.

⁶¹ Other lists, letters and notes are in HA, M12/30.

works now in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett (hereafter cited as Berlin) and other collections.⁶²

The first entry on Douglas's list – "Il breviario della Regina di Cyprio del XI secolo un volume in quarto" – is indisputably the profusely illustrated Byzantine psalter of about 1300, Berlin, 78 A 9, which is inscribed on folio one verso: "Isto libro la Regina Charlotta de Jerousalem de Chipre et Armenie x."⁶³ Entry seven, "Pomerium Riccobaldi di Ferrara del XV secolo un bellissimo volume in foglio", is Ricobaldus Ferrariensis, *Pomerium Ravennatis ecclesiae*, Berlin, Hamilton 570,⁶⁴ which was produced in Venice around 1470, while entry nine, "Francesco di Butis Grammatica 8vo.", is the Italian late fourteenth-century manuscript, Franciscus de Butis, *libri grammaticales*, Berlin, Hamilton 124.⁶⁵ There are a number of other religious texts and entry sixteen, "Regulole St. Benedictus preziosissimo manuscritto [...] del secolo XI in 8vo", must be the Italian tenth-century *Rules of St Benedict*, Berlin, Hamilton 71.⁶⁶

Numbers and annotations on the manuscripts now in Berlin confirm that Douglas was benefiting from the recent secularization of Italian monasteries and other religious institutions and the dispersal of their libraries. The Byzantine psalter associated with the Queen of Cyprus came from the collection of Apostolo Zeno's manuscripts in the Dominican library of Santa Maria del Rosario, Venice,⁶⁷ while the "Francesco di Butis" and *Rules of St Benedict* had been in S. Michael de Murano.⁶⁸ This strongly suggests that other Hamilton manuscripts with Venetian monastic provenances – such as Cardinal Bessarion's *In calumniatorem Platonis liber* (Berlin,

⁶² The Hamilton Manuscripts, which also included manuscripts bequeathed by William Beckford to his daughter Susan, the wife of the 10th Duke of Hamilton, in 1844, were bought by the Royal Museum in Berlin in 1882. The majority are now in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin. However, the Museum authorities failed to obtain the necessary extra funds from the German government and were obliged to sell over a hundred manuscripts a few years after the purchase. Over two dozen were acquired by the British Museum in 1887. Most of the remainder were sold at Sotheby's in 1889 and are now widely dispersed. For further details about these sales, see the introduction to Appendix 3. Many of the Hamilton Manuscripts are described by Helmut Boese in *Die Lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin* (Wiesbaden, 1966), which will be referred to from now on as Boese. It should be noted that this thesis is the first attempt to use the Hamilton archive to understand the development of the 10th Duke's own collection.

⁶³ For a discussion of the manuscript itself, which was formerly Hamilton 119, see Havice 1978.

⁶⁴ Boese, pp.279-80.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.68-9.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.37-8.

⁶⁷ The psalter was number CLXXIV in the Zeno catalogue and is included on Clarke's list (see Appendix 3, entry 20).

⁶⁸ Boese, pp.37 and 68.

Hamilton 76),⁶⁹ Christophorus Bondelmontius, *Insularum archipelagi et Cretae descriptiones* (Berlin, Hamilton 108)⁷⁰ and the Italian thirteenth-century Virgil *Aeneid* (Berlin, Hamilton 678),⁷¹ which all come from the Zeno collection in Santa Maria del Rosario⁷² – were also acquired in this early period.

Collecting back in Britain, 1802-1807

These works whetted Douglas's appetite and he made many more acquisitions after his return to Britain in 1801 and election as an MP the following year.

In April 1802, Douglas purchased a collection of manuscripts from Angelo Moretti of Ferrara for £200. The initial moves involved the Abbé Eusebio della Lena in Vienna,⁷³ and the purchase itself was concluded by Douglas's good friend, Count Leopoldo Cicognara (1767-1834), with assistance from the Venetian dealer Pietro or Pierino Pisani.⁷⁴ Three lists of thirty-five or thirty-six manuscripts can be associated with this purchase and record that the works were individually priced from 25 to 120 Roman *scudi*.⁷⁵ The descriptions of a number of manuscripts – notably Nicholas de Cusa, *De Concordantia Catholica*, undertaken for Domenico de Dominichi, Bishop of Torcellano,⁷⁶ Franciscus Philelfus, *carminum libri V*,⁷⁷ Raphael de Pornasio, *De*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.39-40.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.58-60.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.326.

⁷² All three manuscripts, which were numbers CCIX, CLXI and CCXL respectively in the catalogue of Zeno manuscripts, are recorded on Clarke's list: see Appendix 3, entries 11, 19 and 74. There is at least one other Zeno manuscript on Clarke's list: the Italian fifteenth-century manuscript of Hyginus *De astronomia* and Macrobius, *in somnium Scipionis commentarii* (Berlin, Hamilton 338), which was Zeno catalogue number CLXIII (see Appendix 3, entry 8).

⁷³ HA, Bundle 909, Angelo Moretti to Douglas, 27 January 1802.

⁷⁴ The contract between Cicognara and Moretti, on behalf of "Milord Hamilton", for "Lire duecento Sterline", is dated Ferrara, 10 April 1802 (HA, M12/30/54).

⁷⁵ The most comprehensive list is a "Nota de Codici" (HA, M12/30/39), which has clear entries for thirty-five manuscripts, ranging in price from 25 to 120 Roman *scudi*, and follows these with a list of sixty-nine books, including two that are crossed out. The manuscripts are described in more detail, in slightly different order, as thirty-six manuscripts, but with no mention of the books, on a very well written list entitled "Elenco de Codici" (HA, M12/30/52). At the end of this Cicognara has written: "Riscontrato a norma di quanto è esposto nella suda nota, con moltissima pazienza da me Leopoldo Cicognara". There is also a list of the authors' names of thirty-five manuscripts (HA, M12/30/51), with the same prices as on M12/30/39. The total price of the manuscripts is given as "1820", and "accordato in Lire Sterline 200" is written beneath this.

⁷⁶ Boese, pp.100-1.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.245-6.

potestate concilii,⁷⁸ and Plutarch, *Apophthegmata*⁷⁹ – definitely describe manuscripts now in Berlin (i.e. Hamilton 198,⁸⁰ 511,⁸¹ 562⁸² and 519⁸³ respectively). The oval stamp of the University of Ferrara on these items indicates that they came from the university, and that other manuscripts in Berlin with the stamp of the university and/or associations with S. Paolo in Ferrara (e.g. Hamilton 131,⁸⁴ 161,⁸⁵ 213,⁸⁶ 502⁸⁷ and 634⁸⁸) are probably connected to this purchase. Most of the manuscripts identified to date were produced in Italy in the fifteenth century and suggest Douglas was buying quantity rather than quality in his special area of interest.

On his return to Britain, Douglas very sensibly approached the leading London bookseller James Edwards (1756-1816), who was well known to his Italian friends and agents. Edwards clearly regarded Douglas as an ill-informed amateur collector⁸⁹ but provided him, in 1802, with a list of manuscripts on vellum and a printed list of other manuscripts that were available from the Augsburg bookseller Franz Anton Veith.⁹⁰ By the time Veith was contacted, the vellum manuscripts had

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.277-8.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.250.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.100.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.245.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.277.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.250.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.71-2.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.83-4.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.105-6.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.237-8.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.310.

⁸⁹ See HA, C4/928/3, James Edwards to Douglas, 30 September 1802. Edwards turned down Douglas's "kind offer of being usefull to my Bibliographic Amusem[ents] in Scotland", with the disparaging comment "at present I do not recollect any wants likely to be supplyd. from thence", and went on to answer his query "whether S. Augustin 1468 be valuable w[i]th us" with the very basic lesson: "every book with a Date before 1470 is a curiosity in the History of early Typography _ and worthy of consideration in any Collection _ but I recommend to your Lordship to hezitate when it is not an Editio princeps _ tis always mortifying when we look at or shew a curious Book to recollect that it is but secondary". Edwards then recommended Douglas to purchase Georg Wolfgang Panzer's *Annales typographici* (Nuremberg, 1793-1803), of which Edwards seems to have had nine of the eleven volumes, and Edward Harwood's *Degli autori classici* (Venice, 1793) – "the Grammar and Lexicon to Collectors in our Line" – if he was "not already possess[e]d of them".

⁹⁰ Edwards's letter to Douglas of 30 September 1802 (HA, C4/928/3) reveals that Douglas had been supplied with both lists before this date. According to the letter, Edwards had "writ [Douglas's] offer for the List of Vell[um] MSS." and had received an answer from Veith that they had been sold, but that the items on the printed list were still available. In the letter he tells Douglas "if you write soon or wish me to write to them you may have any of them you desire at the prices affix[e]d."

been sold, but Douglas was able to secure seven items on the printed list and the handwritten addition to the list, through Edwards, in March 1803.⁹¹

The following month Edwards wrote from the French capital to inform Douglas that he had “ransack[e]d all Paris to find something worthy of a place in your Cabinet” and offered him the following for about sixty pounds or guineas:

Dante the 3 parts MS. on Vellum with the obituary of a family to whom it belonged in 1347. _ about 26 years after the authors decease _ folio
 Bedæ Hist. Ecc. Anglicana. _ MS on Vell[um] of the 11th. or 12th. Centy along wth. the first Ed. of Beda 1550 wth. MS. Collations of the various reading of 9 diff^t. MSS. _ folio
 S^t. Pauls Epistles MS. on Eastern pap^r. in Coptic and Arabic thick folio
 Concilia &c in the ancient Lombardic Character w^{ch}. ceas^d. about the 8th. Century _ its date may be nearly ascertain^d. as the Councils have been continued in a diff Hand to the 9th Century
 Josephi Historia &c MS. on Vell[um] 2 vols very large folio wth miniatures in high preservation about the 14th Century⁹²

Douglas almost certainly bought all five manuscripts, along with the printed edition of Bede.⁹³ The purchase is of considerable interest because it corroborates the idea, based on the acquisition of the *Golden Gospels* and some of the entries on previous lists, that Douglas was seeking to assemble a much more wide-ranging collection of manuscripts than of paintings. His interest in paintings seems to have been confined in these years to “realistic” Italian fifteenth- and sixteenth-century

⁹¹ Veith’s printed “Catalogue de Manuscripts” (HA, C4/928/9/4) has handwritten crosses against entries 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12 and 14 and the handwritten entry relating to a manuscript of Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, at the end. Edwards’s letter to Douglas dated 8 March 1803 (HA, C4/928/7/1) requests payment for these manuscripts and lists them simply as: “3 Evangelia _ 50 / 5 Hieronymi _ 66 / 6 Cyprian _ 50 / 8 Lanctantius _ 66 / 10 Chrysostom _ 100 / 12 Gregory _ 55 / 14 Seneca _ 44 / Nonnus _ 100 / [total price] 531”. Edwards’s letter records that the manuscripts were charged, by Edwards, at £48. See Appendix 4 for the entries in Veith’s “Catalogue”.

⁹² HA, C4/928/4, Edwards to Douglas, 11 April 1803. Edwards records that he had bought the first four from the Abbé Tersan and the Josephus from a “Books[elle]r”. He informs Douglas that the bookseller Chardin “was making you out a List of the whole of his Manuscripts _ but without taking any I assisted him to make a choice of such as were ancient and most remarkable, of those he promises to make out a List & send you in a few days _ at my return I will give you freely my Opinion of them.” Edwards concludes by mentioning that he has been “tempted to purchase a few Cabinet Pictures” and has never seen Paris “so empty” in “fine Books”: “There is not a single Article of those Lord Blanford wants _ nor any MS in his Line of collection”.

⁹³ The 1550 edition of Bede was probably lot 230 in Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge’s sale of the Hamilton Library on 1 May 1884: “Bedaee Ecclesiastica Historia Gentis Anglorum, autograph of “Thomas Garrett 1658 Maii 15”, who has collated 8 Manuscripts and the Edition of Argent, 1550, noting the numerous various readings on the margins of this copy, half calf, folio. Antverpiae, 1550. *An important and valuable copy, which ought to be secured for a public library.” It was bought by Quaritch for ten shillings.

treatments, but, as far as manuscripts are concerned, we can now see him willing and eager to form a much more comprehensive collection of “Western” texts, stretching from at least the early middle ages to 1600.

The purchases from Edwards range from the Coptic *Epistles of St Paul* (Berlin, Hamilton 484)⁹⁴ through a collection of Church canons produced in France in the early and mid ninth century (Berlin, Hamilton 132)⁹⁵ and an English eleventh-century manuscript of Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (Berlin, Hamilton 70)⁹⁶ to Josephus’s *Antiquitates Judaicae* and *De bello Judaico* (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS M.533 and 534 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 361)), written and illuminated in Dijon in the late thirteenth century.

While all this was going on, Pisani, Cicognara and others were trying to find items for Douglas in the north-east of Italy. There is a large surviving correspondence about possible acquisitions, but many attempts fizzled out in failure. After all this effort the main purchase – the paintings inherited by Sasso’s daughters after his death in March 1803 – is frankly disappointing, being both very “near to home” and poor in terms of artistic importance and quality. A painting of *St Jerome* attributed to Titian had already been acquired by Sir Abraham Hume (1749-1838), a close friend of Reynolds and a distinguished collector of Old Masters,⁹⁷ and it seems that Giacomo della Lena, the Spanish vice-consul in Venice, was offering Douglas – as a former customer and friend of Sasso – five of the best paintings that were still available.

In a letter dated 15 July 1803, della Lena lists the paintings as:

l’Adultera di Paolo	Z[ecchini]	100	_
il Ciro ferri	„	20	_
l’Adone, e Venere di Giorgione „		120	_
e li due Schiavoni, uno ch’ era			
tenuto da Manfrin, e l’altro citato			
dal Ridolfi	„	80.	_
		320	⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Boese, p.228.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.72-5.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.36-7.

⁹⁷ HA, Bundle 1006, Giacomo della Lena to Douglas, 15 July 1803, and Bundle 1131, Francesco Aglietti to Douglas, 23 July 1803.

⁹⁸ HA, Bundle 1006, della Lena to Douglas, 15 July 1803.

The first painting is listed as “La Samaritana di Paolo Z[ecchini] 100” in della Lena’s letter of 10 October 1804, but the other entries repeat the same basic information.⁹⁹

Only one of these paintings has been identified to date: the *Adonis and Venus* attributed to Giorgione. This is described as the “bel Quadro dell’ Adone e Venere di Giorgione” in della Lena’s later letter of 12 December 1804,¹⁰⁰ and appears to be the work discussed at length in a letter from the Duke of Somerset to Douglas, dated 2 February 1806, which begins “Your Picture is, as we conjectured, the story of Myrrha and Adonis” and goes on to quote passages in Latin from Ovid to support the thesis.¹⁰¹

The Sasso painting is listed as the “Story of Myrza from Ovid [£]100 [by] Georgioni” on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory,¹⁰² when it hung in the First Dressing Room in the Old State Rooms, and as the “Storry of Mirrha from Ovid [by] Giorgione [£]200” on the 1835 inventory,¹⁰³ when it was in the New Sitting Room in the recently built addition to the palace. Dr Gustav Waagen saw the picture in the New Sitting Room in 1851 and described it as “Giorgione. – Hippomenes and Atalanta, accompanied by Cupid, in a landscape”,¹⁰⁴ but it retained its old title and was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale as “Giorgione, The Story of Myrrha”.¹⁰⁵ Bought by the National Gallery, London, at the auction for £1,417 10s,¹⁰⁶ it has slumbered for many years in the reserve collection as a “Mythological Scene by a Follower of Titian” (Fig.5).¹⁰⁷

The “due Schiavoni” are probably the two works by Schiavone also noted by Waagen in the New Sitting Room in 1851 and described as: “Schiavone. – The Ecce Homo, and Pilate washing his hands; half-length figures; one of his coarser and dark works.”¹⁰⁸ They were included in the 1882 sale, as consecutive lots. According to Christie’s catalogue, the *Ecce Homo* was 3 feet 7 inches by 4 feet 9 inches (109 x 145

⁹⁹ HA, C4/928/9/1, della Lena to Douglas, dated 10 8bre 1804.

¹⁰⁰ HA, Bundle 1129, della Lena to Douglas, dated 12 Xbre 1804.

¹⁰¹ HA, Bundle 928, Somerset to Douglas, 2 February 1806. Somerset was Douglas’s brother-in-law. The identification is confirmed by comparison with Somerset’s letter about political matters, dated 28 December 1801 (HA, Bundle 754).

¹⁰² HA, M4/70, 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory, p.171.

¹⁰³ HTHL, 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory, p.155.

¹⁰⁴ Waagen 1854, III, p.303.

¹⁰⁵ 1882 HPS, lot 383.

¹⁰⁶ 1882 HPSSC, lot 383.

¹⁰⁷ Gould 1987, pp.304-5.

¹⁰⁸ Waagen 1854, III, p.304.

cm.),¹⁰⁹ while *Pilate washing his hands* was 3 feet 7 inches by 5 feet 2 inches (109 x 157.5 cm.).¹¹⁰ The *Ecce Homo* was more highly regarded in 1882, selling to Colnaghi for £50 8s, while *Pilate* went to C.H. Waters for only £21.¹¹¹ Schiavone used the same basic horizontal compositions, with half-length figures, for a number of versions of these two subjects.¹¹² It therefore follows that the Hamilton *Ecce Homo* is probably a smaller version of the *Ecce Homo* in the Steffanoni collection in Bergamo (Fig.6),¹¹³ which measures 121 x 147 centimetres, while the Hamilton *Pilate* must be similar to the *Pilate* now at Hampton Court (Fig.7),¹¹⁴ which is 102 x 157 centimetres.

In addition to the paintings, Douglas also acquired forty-five manuscripts in the transaction with della Lena, for an additional 33 *zecchini*.¹¹⁵ They are itemised, in two groups, in della Lena's letter of 12 October 1804¹¹⁶ and include a number of identifiable manuscripts. The first list begins with five Classical texts – “Crispi Sallustii”, “Rettorica d’Aristotile”, “Favole d’Esopo” and manuscripts of Cicero’s *De Officiis* and *de Inventione* – and goes on, through “Codice Ebraico cartaceo”, “Cronaca Veneta” and other works, to end with “14. Promission Duc[a]le del Doge Leonardo Loredan _ 15. Detta del Doge Pasqual Malipiero 1461 _ 16. Detta del Doge Gio: Mocenigo 1480”. The latter are almost certainly the official illuminated appointments by Doge Leonardo Loredan of Pietro Capello, Podesta of Brescia, in 1501 (Berlin, Hamilton 224),¹¹⁷ by Doge Pasquale Maripietro of Andrea Venier, Count at Spoleto, in 1461 (Berlin, Hamilton 225),¹¹⁸ and by Doge Giovanni Mocenigo of Jacopo Marcello, Captain of Padua for a year, in 1480 (Berlin, Hamilton 222).¹¹⁹

¹⁰⁹ 1882 HPS, lot 366.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, lot 367.

¹¹¹ 1882 HPSSC, lots 366 and 367.

¹¹² See Richardson 1980, pp. 66, 155, 162, 170, 172-3, 185 and 194 and figs.144, 170, 182, 198, 217 and 220.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p.155, no.250.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.162, no.260.

¹¹⁵ The price of 33 *zecchini* appears in della Lena's letters of 10 October 1804 and 12 December 1804 (HA, C4/928/9/1 and Bundle 1129) and is confirmed by the total price of 353 *zecchini* for paintings, codices and manuscripts in his letters of 12 October 1804, 29 May 1805 and 7 August 1805 (HA, C4/928/10 and Bundle 1129).

¹¹⁶ HA, C4/928/10, della Lena to Douglas, dated 12 8bre 1804.

¹¹⁷ Boese, p.110.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.109.

The second list includes many chronicles of Venice (e.g. “Cronaca di Marco Barbaro”, “Hist[ori]a veneziana di Zuane Querini, tomi 2” and “Origine delle famiglie Venete”) and underscores Douglas’s focus on Venice and Italy and the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. “Cronaca delle famiglie venete, greco-venete” may be Berlin, Hamilton 662,¹²⁰ while “Serie de’ Giustiziati” seems to be the eighteenth-century manuscript, Berlin, Hamilton 664, which contains information about criminals and their executions.¹²¹

Douglas would have acquired other items and especially manuscripts from Italy between 1801 and 1806. There are certainly references to manuscript bibles in the correspondence,¹²² but they are difficult to associate with works formerly in the Hamilton Library. Nonetheless, it is surprising that Douglas did not acquire much more from Italy during these years. He had an extensive network of friends and dealers, which included Sasso, Pisani, Cicognara, Giacomo and Innocenzo della Lena, and Francesco Aglietti in Venice, Bossi in Milan, Matteo Luigi Canonici in Parma, and Moretti and J.B. de Chateaufort in Ferrara. They sent Douglas dozens of letters and were willing, and in some cases highly desirous, to send items and act on his behalf.¹²³

The resumption of war between Britain and France in May 1803 led to severe problems with post and shipping and impeded the international art trade. But this only partly explains why Douglas did not receive more items from Italy. The main reason seems to have been that he was increasingly obliged to concentrate on developments in Britain, to the detriment of his Italian correspondence and collecting.

Douglas’s father was largely responsible for this almost total reorientation. The 9th Duke suffered badly from gout and depression and refused to take on the

¹²⁰ Hamilton 662 was included in Sotheby’s 1882 *Catalogue of the Hamilton Collection of Manuscripts*, under 662, as “Venetia. Cronica delle Famiglie nobili Graeco-Venete[.] Manuscript, with Pedigrees (15½ by 10¼ inches) fol. Saec. XVIII”.

¹²¹ Hamilton 664 was described in Sotheby’s 1882 *Catalogue*, under 664, as “Venetia. Serie de Giustiziati (706-1791)[.] Manuscript (12½ by 9 inches) folio. Saec. XVIII[.] *A very important Manuscript, containing curious information respecting Criminals and their execution.”

¹²² E.g. HA, C4/928/11, Pisani to Douglas, 20 March 1802 (referring to “l’affaire della Bibbia”); Bundle 1131, Cicognara to Douglas, 26 January 1803; and Bundle 1130, Pisani to Douglas, 20 January 1804 (referring to the “Bibbia Estense”).

¹²³ Many of their letters are in HA, Bundles 928, 1006 and 1129-1133, M12/30 and C4/928. The great unknown is what Douglas received from Bossi. A letter mentions a case of manuscripts and various sums, including £52, but it is not clear what was involved, nor whether Douglas received these items: see HA, Bundle 1130, Bossi to Douglas, 16 June 1804.

leadership of the Whigs in Scotland, as requested by the Marquess of Bute and others. He left his sons to represent the House of Hamilton and both stood at the General Election in 1802. After a bruising contest, involving much alcohol and free drink for votes, Douglas was elected one of the two MPs for his father's old seat of Lancaster,¹²⁴ while his brother, Lord Archibald Hamilton, began his career as the radical MP for Lanarkshire (the Hamilton's "home county").

Douglas could easily have combined his parliamentary duties with correspondence with Italy, but another, more momentous development took place in 1802. Afflicted by illness and daunted by the task of meeting the claims of the mistress and illegitimate child of the 8th Duke, the 9th Duke decided to give up public life and the bother and responsibility of running the new estates. He appointed his elder son and heir "Commissioner" of the Hamilton estates in Scotland, made provision for his other children, and "retir'd" (his own word), to live out his last years at Ashton Hall.¹²⁵ Douglas was left to deal with the estates in Lanarkshire, Arran, Stirlingshire and Linlithgowshire (now West Lothian), take over as Lord Lieutenant of Lanarkshire, and serve as Colonel of the Royal Lanarkshire Militia. The first two would have been a challenge to anybody with little experience of management, but Douglas was also expected to respond to the government's urgent demands for the expansion of the militia to defend the United Kingdom from invasion by the French and "free up" regular troops.

In a letter dated West Barns Camp, 25 or 26 October 1803, Douglas wrote rather petulantly and in exasperation to his father:

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your very kind & obliging letter of the 23^d instant, and I should have acknowledged it sooner had it fallen into my hands, but you direct always to Hamilton Palace when I am constantly with the regiment, unless occasionally for a day or two, when I go there to receive the accumulated complaints, quarrels and misfortunes of the whole County ____¹²⁶

¹²⁴ John Dent (Tory) received the most votes. Douglas in second place, with 1152 or 1153 votes, easily defeated John Fenton Cawthorne (Tory), who only polled 777 votes.

¹²⁵ The 9th Duke seems to have handed over the running of the Scottish estates to his son in 1802 (see HTHL, General State of the Management of the Estates in Scotland, 31 October 1802 to 31 December 1803, and HA, Bundle 4351, Douglas to 9th Duke, 17 January 1803) and to have confirmed this in Articles of Agreement in early February 1804.

¹²⁶ HA, C4/581, Douglas to 9th Duke, 25 or 26 October 1803.

A series of letters about the Royal Lanarkshire Militia and other militias indicates that Douglas was zealously and enthusiastically dealing with the supply of muskets, other “deficiencies”, appointments and coal allowances between October and December 1803, and that he even offered – as the son of the official Keeper – to allow troops to be quartered in the “Privilege of [Holyrood] Palace”.¹²⁷

It seems that Douglas’s life revolved around the militia well into 1804 and that, when the danger of invasion receded, he turned to the delights of London and possibilities in Britain. Acquiring items from Italy required time and effort for very uncertain returns, while London and the provinces provided instant or near instant gratification. Not surprisingly, after the fear of invasion and death, Douglas realigned himself and the flow of items from Italy dried up.

There are few letters and bills relating to Douglas’s collecting in Britain between 1804 and 1806. A good deal has been destroyed, and reflects Douglas’s disorganisation before Robert Brown became his principal factor in 1812 and encouraged him to retain and order his papers.

The two most significant developments appear to be Douglas’s election to the Society of Dilettanti in 1803 and his close involvement with the miniature painter, collector and dealer Richard Cosway (1742-1821). The papers of the Society of Dilettanti record Douglas’s election, as the only member elected in 1803,¹²⁸ while the art dealer William Buchanan observes, in a letter of early May 1804, that Cosway “is very intimate with the Marquis D.[ouglas] and has much to say with him”.¹²⁹ In early July 1804 Buchanan remarks “as he [Cosway] is so well acquainted with Marq[ui]s Douglas he might mention” to him the possible purchase, from Buchanan, of portraits of King Charles I and Queen Henrietta.¹³⁰

The election to the Dilettanti Society brought Douglas into contact with the influential writer-collector Richard Payne Knight,¹³¹ and would have increased his

¹²⁷ See General Moira’s letters to Douglas, 6 November - 12 December 1803, in HA, Bundle 769, and Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Pulteney Correspondence, Vol.5, p.243, Douglas to Major General Don, 7 December 1803.

¹²⁸ Cust 1914, p.282.

¹²⁹ NLS, MS 10275, f.141v, William Buchanan to David Stewart, 4 May 1804.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, f.161v, Buchanan to Stewart, 2 July 1804.

¹³¹ Payne Knight was the ruling spirit of the Society as far as Classical matters were concerned. Lord Elgin’s former secretary, William Richard Hamilton, who had superintended the removal of the Parthenon sculptures, and was later much involved with the 10th Duke, was not a member at this date.

interest in Classical antiquities, and particularly in cameos. Friendship with Cosway would naturally have led to the acquisition of miniatures by the artist¹³² and almost certainly of other miniatures.¹³³ These inferences are supported by Lord Archibald Hamilton's lament in 1816 for all the "dead Capital" his brother had expended on his "Collection of precious Stones, miniatures & manuscripts" over the years.¹³⁴

Douglas continued to collect manuscripts. He considered buying part of the collection of the late Dr Carlyle. Dr Carlyle's sister apparently sent him "all the Greek Manuscripts" and "the two or three Codices" that he also wanted to examine, when she got back to Newcastle,¹³⁵ but in the end he seems to have decided against acquiring any of them. Carlyle's sister thanked him for offering to dispose of the manuscripts and asked him to keep them until the Bishop of Durham could help her with this task.¹³⁶

In April 1805 Douglas decided to "keep the german manuscript" and sent "Mr Meyer" – the bookbinder Charles Meyer – ten pounds (which may have included payment for binding items and for other works, as well as the price of the manuscript).¹³⁷

Indeed, it was Douglas, along with Sir William Drummond, who proposed Hamilton for election to the Society, at the successful, third attempt in January 1811: see Cust 1914, pp.133-4.

¹³² The Hamilton collection at Lennoxlove still contains a drawing of a beautiful standing female figure with a putto on a cloud filling the cup in her raised left hand – presumably representing or alluding to Hebe – and a very impressive Neo-classical-style perfume-burner on the right, signed by Cosway and dated 1805, which may well have been acquired by Douglas around this time. A portrait of the 9th Duke by Cosway, on panel measuring 74.3 x 60.9 cm., also at Lennoxlove, serves as a reminder that both the 9th Duke and Douglas's brother, Lord Archibald Hamilton, knew Cosway and his wife.

The 1882 Hamilton Palace sale included three miniatures, lots 1546, 1548 and 1552, attributed to Cosway. A miniature in the Huntington Library (27.149), from the Tweedmouth collection, is said to represent the 10th Duke.

¹³³ The thirteenth day of the great Hamilton Palace sale, 15 July 1882, was devoted to auctioning over 200 miniatures (lots 1460-1667). Some can be identified as having come from William Beckford's collection, while others were bought by the 11th Duke. The only documentation so far discovered relating to Douglas's own activities is a letter from A. Gordon, dated Old Broad Street, 19 May 1815 (HA, Bundle 928), informing Douglas that "Mr Harman" had delivered a box containing miniatures, which was either to be "returned to him in 3 or 4 days, or shall be paid for by Your Lordship conformably to the spirit of the original Agreement."

¹³⁴ HA, Bundle 935, Lord Archibald Hamilton to Douglas, undated but probably written in February 1816.

¹³⁵ HA, Bundle 928, "Sus: Maria Carlyle" to Douglas, 9 July 1804.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, "Sus : Maria Carlyle" to Douglas, 25 August 1804.

¹³⁷ Yale University, Beinecke Library, Osborn d.194/82, Douglas to "Mr Meyer", 5 April 1805. The note reads: "Sir / I shall speak to you when I see you about the lettering of the two books in question _ Here enclosed I have sent the ten pounds, I shall therefore keep the german manuscript _ / Douglas & Clydesdale".

A few weeks later, we are given an extremely revealing account of Douglas which highlights his affected sophistication and foreign appearance and attitudes, at least in London, during these years. Writing to her son, Lord Granville Leveson Gower, Lady Stafford recounts on 31 May:

Your Cousin, Lord Douglas, Breakfasted with me Yesterday, and seem'd much pleased with this House. He could say little of the Furniture, as the House contains little, and that of the most plain Sorts. With his Love he desired me to say that *you must* chuse the only Essential Furniture in any House – that Piece of Furniture that either makes the Happiness or the Misery of a Man's Life, which gave me an Opportunity of talking seriously to him on that Subject. But he is so odd! so different from every other Man! that I could not find out whether or no he means to marry. His great Coat, long *Queue*, and Fingers cover'd with gold Rings are as you left them, and he in every particular as foreign as when he came first from Abroad.¹³⁸

The arrival of the Sasso paintings and the manuscripts aboard the *Bird* in 1805¹³⁹ may well have inspired Douglas to acquire another large Italian renaissance painting the following year.

One has to be very careful about the acquisition of the altarpiece of the *Circumcision of Christ* by Luca Signorelli (Fig.8), which was painted for the Oratory of the Holy Name of Jesus attached to S. Francesco in Volterra (now in the National Gallery, London),¹⁴⁰ because no documentation has yet been found in the Hamilton archive prior to its listing in the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory.¹⁴¹ However, it seems likely that Douglas bought the *Circumcision* either at the auction of the Marquess of Lansdowne's collection at Lansdowne House, London, on 19 March 1806 or shortly thereafter at a low price. The blank spaces to the left and right of the lot entry in the very well-annotated copy of the sale catalogue from the collection of the dealer William Seguer, who was later the first Keeper of the National Gallery, indicate that the altarpiece failed to sell at auction, and was "bought in".¹⁴² Other sale catalogues have "32. 11" against the entry, recording that the work was either sold or

¹³⁸ Granville 1917, II, p.75.

¹³⁹ See HA, Bundle 1129, della Lena to Douglas, 10 April and 29 May 1805.

¹⁴⁰ For the painting itself, see Davies 1986, pp.479-81, and Kanter and Henry 2002, pp.175-7.

¹⁴¹ HA, M4/67: "Circumcision [by] Simonelli", listed in the Breakfast Room in the (Old) State Apartments; Appendix 2, 34.

¹⁴² GRI, Peter Coxe, Burrell, and Foster, *The Catalogue of all that well-known valuable collection of Capital Paintings, the property of the late Most Noble Marquis of Lansdowne, [...] which will be sold [...] at Lansdowne House, Berkley Square, 19-20 March 1806, lot 67.*

“bought in” at £32 11s.¹⁴³ Either way, Douglas would have been able to pick up a bargain at this time.

The acquisition of the Signorelli in 1806 can be interpreted as an inexpensive celebration for getting the post of ambassador to St Petersburg and support of a Whig family by a fellow Whig. Acquisition in 1807-8, when Douglas was in Russia and Poland, seems highly unlikely, while purchase in 1809-10 would presumably have had to have involved a dealer who had bothered to keep the *Circumcision* – a large work, with limited appeal – in stock for three or four years, or else who had obtained it after only a few years in another collection. The latter seems to be a strained scenario, and a cheap, celebratory purchase in 1806, after a series of purchases of *cinquecento* paintings, looks more logical and convincing.

As we come to the end of the first chapter, and the first thirty-eight years of Douglas’s life, we need to pause and take careful stock of the achievements of the future 10th Duke of Hamilton up to 1806. Douglas had certainly managed to secure two important paintings – the *Madonna and Child with Saints* by Girolamo dai Libri and the *Portrait of a Man* by Antonello da Messina – and had probably also purchased the *Circumcision of Christ* by Signorelli, but he had also bought a number of “also rans”, including the “*Mythological Scene* by a Follower of Titian” and the copy of the Gonzaga portraits after Mantegna. His track record was probably a little better than this, when unknown acquisitions are taken into account. Nevertheless, it was not a brilliant start if assessed in “splendid isolation”, and does not reflect a “good eye” and real discrimination.

The main finding is that Douglas was a much more active and important collector of manuscripts than of paintings. Just adding the twenty-five manuscripts he himself acquired in Italy, the thirty-five or thirty-six bought from Moretti, the forty-five obtained from della Lena and the thirteen from Edwards reveals that Douglas owned well over 120 manuscripts by 1806 and that the total could have been significantly higher. They included the *Golden Gospels*, the Byzantine psalter

¹⁴³ These catalogues include the copies in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (on deposit from the Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap) and the anonymous copy – not the copy owned by Lord Ennismore – in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague.

associated with the Queen of Cyprus, and at least three dozen other good, if not great, manuscripts.

It seems likely that Douglas also owned Botticelli's illustrations of *Dante's Divine Comedy* (Berlin, MS Botticelli) by this date.¹⁴⁴ The Botticelli illustrations are recorded in his possession in 1819,¹⁴⁵ but a manuscript note pasted inside the front cover records that they had been verified for sale by the Parisian bookseller Giovanni Claudio Molini (1724-1812) on 27 April 1803.¹⁴⁶ James Edwards mentions "calling at Molinis a few days ago" in a letter to Douglas written from Pall Mall on "Monday",¹⁴⁷ possibly in late April or early May 1803, and it is quite conceivable that Botticelli's illustrations were purchased by Douglas in the wake of Edwards's visit. If they were acquired direct from France, it seems likely that they would have crossed the Channel prior to the end of the Peace of Amiens in May 1803, or have remained on the Continent until at least 1814. Douglas would buy many manuscripts from the Parisian bookseller Chardin between about 1815 and 1818, but Botticelli's illustrations are not recorded in the Chardin-related documentation discovered to date.

There was certainly ample opportunity to acquire Botticelli's illustrations in 1803, and their acquisition makes sense in the context of Douglas's concentrated collecting of Italian fifteenth-century manuscripts between 1799 and 1805.

If this speculation is correct, Douglas deserves to be commended for assembling quite a large collection, with some real "star items", at relatively little cost, within less than a decade. He was collecting with little money compared to other major collectors and erring towards quantity rather than quality, but it would not have been a bad start in the circumstances. The irony is that he would have done better on the paintings front if he had stayed in Britain and spent his money on the pictures listed in his father's collection of London sale catalogues. This is a very valid observation, but it fails fully to appreciate a salient point: that Douglas liked living and buying in Italy.

¹⁴⁴ The Botticelli manuscript was Hamilton 201 and is sometimes referred to as Cim. 33.

¹⁴⁵ Clarke 1819, p.260; see Appendix 3, 31.

¹⁴⁶ Molini's note is illustrated in Altcapenberg 2000, p.22.

¹⁴⁷ HA, C4/928/6, Edwards to Douglas, dated "Pall Mall / Monday".

A preference for living and buying on the Continent had fundamentally affected his collecting up to this date and would continue to affect it for the next forty years.

The Marquis of Douglas's Russian Acquisitions

Up to this point, we have been examining Douglas primarily as a private individual who combined his personal interests with a desire to demonstrate his new status as Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale and future Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, but in 1806 he became part of the Whig government as Ambassador to St Petersburg.

The story of how Douglas became ambassador and the political aspect of his diplomatic career are examined at the start of Appendix 5, which contains important letters relating to his involvement with Russia and his Russian acquisitions. This might be described as “straight history”, rather than art history, but one needs to appreciate that Douglas regarded the posting as a great adventure and that he was profoundly impressed with Russia. After a hazardous journey, during which he was almost killed in a coach accident in Sweden, Douglas arrived at St Petersburg around 23 January 1807 and was overwhelmed by the spectacle. As he informed his father:

I got here by moon light & was delighted with the appearance of the town; the magnificent buildings of which it is composed, partly illuminated by lamps, & partly by the contending light of the moon & the snow produced a glorious effect; I forgot that it was cold, stopt my drunken Russian postilions, a[nd] gazed around me with admiration – ¹

Four days later, a very flattering interview with Tsar Alexander I left Douglas in a state of rapture² and ensured that he would take the opportunity to collect Russian material and commemorate his involvement with Russia. Unfortunately, the ambassadorship was not a success. In large part, this was because the Russians wanted more support from the British against Napoleon than the Whigs were prepared to give and refused to renew the commercial treaty between the two countries, which was one of the two key objectives set by the Whig Ministry.³ Douglas was irritated by British and Russian criticism of his effectiveness, but chose to stay on in Russia after the “Ministry of All the Talents” fell in March 1807 and he was replaced by his cousin, Lord Granville Leveson Gower, the following month.

¹ HA, C4/534A, Douglas to 9th Duke, 4 February 1807.

² See *ibid.*

³ The other main objective was getting Russia to “guarantee” the return of Hanover, which had been captured by Napoleon, to George III.

This obviously enabled him to collect more material. However, the principal reason that Douglas stayed on in Russia was almost certainly to try to marry the Countess Zofia Potocka (1760-1822), a former courtesan who had become the third wife of Count Stanislaw Szczęśny Potocki, the richest Polish aristocrat and landowner in the Ukraine.⁴ Following his death in 1805, Zofia had moved to St Petersburg, to combat the claims of the Count's divorced wife and get a better education for her children. Douglas was drawn to this "old battered beauty" (as Lord Malmesbury ungallantly called her⁵) by her vast wealth and a taste for women with racy pasts. On 30 July 1807 Leveson Gower wrote to Lady Bessborough:

I am at this time living in the House of my Predecessor, whose civility to me is above all praise; he is supposed to be violently in Love, and it is said has made proposals of marriage to the object of his attachment. The person is a Countess Potocka, whose last husband, bearing that name, died about two years ago, and who left her an immense property [...] She is now gone – that is, yesterday – to her Estates in Poland, and It is Supposed that le marquis will follow her.⁶

Douglas did, indeed, follow the Countess to her extensive estates – mini-kingdom might be a more accurate description – at Tulczyn. Marriage and enormous wealth eluded him, but Douglas remained in contact with the Countess and her family after his departure from Russia in July/August 1808. More importantly, he continued to acquire items through agents in St Petersburg until at least 1814 and retained a strong interest in Russia, which influenced his patronage as late as 1850.

Douglas's Acquisitions

Archival research has proved that Douglas definitely acquired the three most important Russian items in the Hamilton Palace collection – the bronze busts of Peter the Great and the Empress Catherine the Great, and the tapestry portrait of the Empress – and also other Russian and European works of art, books and manuscripts. These items are only partly documented, and it is therefore worth trying to get some idea of the context in which they were commissioned or bought.

Douglas had been issued by the Lord Chamberlain's office with a large ambassadorial silver service made by the royal goldsmiths Rundell, Bridge and

⁴ For the Countess Zofia, see Howard and Szczerski 2001, and Howard 2001, pp.31-41.

⁵ Malmesbury 1844, IV, p.392.

⁶ Granville 1917, II, p.278.

Rundell (Fig.9)⁷ and would probably have had official state portraits of *King George III* and *Queen Charlotte*. But it is not clear when the service arrived,⁸ or what else was shipped from England.

In his letter to his father dated 4 February, Douglas announced he was “in the midst of every Species of confusion, as you may well imagine; a new house & a very large one not half furnished, with all the cargo of things I was obliged to send from England”.⁹ A month later, he informed the Duke: “I have taken a very large, and excellent house, which I have not yet been able to open not having received all my things”.¹⁰

The new ambassador needed to sort out his new residence as quickly as possible, and may well have bought furniture and furnishings, and decorative and functional pieces, during this period. One would have expected Douglas to have been very busy with official duties and unlikely to have really started collecting and acquiring things until after late April-May 1807, when he learnt that he was to be replaced, but this is too big an assumption to make. In the first place, Douglas evidently regarded the posting as a sort of “Grand Tour” and great adventure; in the second, Tsar Alexander and many other aristocrats had left St Petersburg to face Napoleon and the *Grand Armée* and Douglas was almost certainly courting the Countess Zofia during the second half of his posting.

In short, Douglas would probably have been active from the start and would have had more time and inclination from March onwards.

A fundamental consideration is that Douglas was in a very privileged position as an ambassador and ally of Russia to ask for items and help. He would have

⁷ NA, LC 9/350, ff.148v and 149r, Rundell, Bridge and Rundell’s bill to the Royal Jewel House for the ambassadorial service completed for the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, dated 10 June 1806. The bill, along with other lists and letters relating to the ambassadorial service and Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, will be found in Appendix 6. Douglas probably supplemented the official service. Writing to Lord Archibald Hamilton about Douglas’s debts on 15 January 1808, Alexander Young refers to a “large sum” for a “Service of Plate” as being “almost the only proper and legitimate article of that ruinous Expence” “contracted in the view of [i.e. in connection with] that Embassy”. In a letter to Douglas dated 5 December 1808, Young notes “a Balance of rather more than £5000. due to Rundell & Bridge”. Both letters are in HA, Bundle 603.

⁸ The ambassadorial service was handed over to Thomas Bidwell Junior, “Attorney”, acting for Douglas, on 1 January 1807: see NA, LC 5/207, p.46.

⁹ HA, C4/534A, Douglas to 9th Duke, 4 February 1807.

¹⁰ HA, C4/532, Douglas to 9th Duke, 5 March 1807.

received assistance from the Imperial family and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the many people who invited him to their dinners and fêtes.¹¹

Douglas would not have had to look far for aid, but the letter to his father dated 5 March 1807 contains the potentially very important information that “all the family of the Strogonoff’s are particularly kind & obliging”.¹² This seems to refer to the family of Count Alexander Sergeievich Stroganov (1733-1811), who would have been ideally placed to help with commissions and purchases. The connection between Count Stroganov and Douglas is confirmed by the presence in the Hamilton Library, in the early 1880s, of a copy of the 1807 catalogue of the Count’s Picture Gallery, which was only handed out as a present to friends and people the family wished to honour and favour.¹³ Count Stroganov was not only a great collector, with a superb collection of paintings, but the president of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, chairman of the Committee for the Construction of Kazan Cathedral in St Petersburg, and director of the Imperial lapidary works at Peterhof, Kolyvan and Ekaterinburg.¹⁴

The correspondence in the Hamilton archive suggests that two other people in particular assisted Douglas. The first was his banker, Baron Rall, who not only paid manufacturers and others but acted as an agent and even as a dealer, and is likely to have recommended individuals and manufacturers and to have facilitated introductions.¹⁵ The second was Madame Gerebsov, the former mistress of Lord Whitworth, who was the British ambassador to St Petersburg from 1788 to 1800.¹⁶ Madame Gerebsov was well disposed towards the British and the number of references to her in the later correspondence – and especially the appearance of her name at the top of the lists of Douglas’s acquaintances in Richard Riga’s and Dr John Rogerson’s letters of 3 May and 14 December 1811¹⁷ – indicates that she played a significant rôle in 1807-8.

¹¹ See *ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ The volume was lot 1898 in Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge’s sale of the Hamilton Library in 1884 and was described as: “Stroganoff (Comte A.) Galerie, proof plates, half morocco, uncut, very scarce folio. St Petersburg, 1807 * Privately printed for presents only.”

¹⁴ For further information about Count Stroganov, see Hunter-Stiebel 2000, pp.32-4, 76-91 and 115-89, and Jaeger 2007.

¹⁵ For Baron Rall as an agent, see HA, Bundle 1006, Rall to Douglas, 30 June 1811.

¹⁶ See Granville 1917, I, pp.281, 476-7, II, p.289.

¹⁷ HA, Bundle 698, Riga to Douglas, 3 May 1811, and Rogerson to Douglas, 14 December 1811.

The most sensible course is to begin with the items about which we have most information: the mirrors commissioned from the Imperial Glass Manufactory in St Petersburg in 1807. They were very attractive acquisitions because the Imperial glassworks was one of only a few in Europe that could make large pieces of mirror-glass at this time, and comparable high-quality mirrors could no longer be obtained from the two main glass-making centres, Venice and Paris, owing to the war.

An undated list in French of “Objets Commandés par Son Excellence M^e le Marquis Duglas” records a “table ronde”, costing 300 roubles, and five mirrors.¹⁸ The latter consisted of a very large example, 124 x 62 inches, costing 1,875 roubles; a pair of smaller vertical-format mirrors measuring 73 x 45 inches, priced at 237 roubles 50 kopecks each; and a pair of horizontal mirrors (possibly for use as overmantels) measuring 31 x 45 inches, at 62 roubles 67 kopecks each. A payment of 500 roubles is recorded directly below the total price of 2,775 roubles 34 kopecks.

Close by in the same bundle of letters and other papers is a receipt in Russian, dated 1807, which records payment from “Milord the Marquis Douglas on the day of his order to the Imperial Glass Manufactory of [a number of] mirrors for 500 Roubles”.¹⁹ The number appears to be seven, and the use of the genitive plural indicates that it is five or more, which creates a slight problem reconciling the two documents. Fortunately, Douglas has annotated the bottom of the receipt with a quickly pencilled scribble in French, referring to the 500 roubles as “d’avance”, and a later neatly written explanation in ink that the document is a “Receipt from the Glass fabric for Ro 500 on Accot” [i.e. Account]. It is a bit puzzling, but there can be no doubt that Alexander ordered all five mirrors – and possibly others – in 1807.

That the order for the five mirrors on the “French list” was completed is evident from the almost illegible annotations in Russian at the bottom of this list and on the reverse. They refer to a payment of 105 roubles to a coachman, a total bill of 2,880 roubles 34 kopecks (i.e. the 2,775 roubles 34 kopecks for the five mirrors and the 105 roubles for the coachman), and the receipt of the outstanding 2,380 roubles 34 kopecks by the Governor Ivan Lomonsov at an unspecified date.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, list of items ordered by the Marquis of Douglas, undated.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, receipt from the Imperial Glass Manufactory, dated 1807.

At least some – and possibly all – of the mirrors were presumably in the four crates of mirrors that C. Zecalewsky states were ready for shipment to Britain in October 1812.²⁰ There is no reference to a glass table in this letter, but Douglas includes “The glass Table S^t Petersburg” in a list of items “Left in the Church room” in August 1816,²¹ and this could be the “table ronde” or another table acquired from the Imperial Glass Works.

Moving on, we come to the bronze busts of Tsar Peter I (Peter the Great) and the Empress Catherine II (Catherine the Great) that are recorded in the Hamilton Palace inventories and were sold in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.²² The bronze bust of Peter the Great is illustrated in the 1882 sale catalogues (Fig.10) and was after the bronze bust of the Emperor, “in the new Roman manner”, modelled by Bartolomeo Carlo Rastrelli (1675-1744) in 1723 and finished in 1729 (State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg).²³ However, the inventories and sale catalogues are singularly uninformative about the bust of the Empress Catherine.²⁴

The archive of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in St Petersburg records a payment, on 30 October 1807, “for the casting of a plaster bust of the Empress Catherine II, after the work of Gudon [i.e. Houdon] for the English envoy”.²⁵ This was almost certainly made using the “mould from the bust of the Empress Catherine II by Gudon donated by his Excellency Count Alexander Stroganov” that had been paid for on 30 April 1807,²⁶ and would therefore have been a reproduction of the marble bust of the Empress that Stroganov had commissioned from Jean-Antoine Houdon, which was exhibited in the Salon of 1773 and is now in the State Hermitage Museum. Thus, Douglas’s bust would have been similar to the bronze bust of the

²⁰ *Ibid.*, C. Zecalewsky to Douglas, 15/28 October 1812 and 24 October/5 November 1812.

²¹ HA, F2/1040, notebook used by Douglas in 1816-17 and 1820, unpaginated. The list is dated 7 August 1816 and appears to be of items left in London immediately prior to Douglas’s departure for Italy.

²² 1882 HPS, lots 1900 and 1901.

²³ For Rastrelli’s two busts of Peter the Great in the “old Roman manner” and the “new Roman manner” and their histories, see Arkhipov and Raskin 1964.

²⁴ The 1882 sale catalogue simply describes lot 1901 as “Bust of the Empress Catharine II. – the companion” [to the bust of Tsar Peter, lot 1900].

²⁵ St Petersburg, *Rossiiskiy Gosudarstvenniy istoricheskiy arkhiv* [RGIA] [Russian State Historical Archives], fonds 789, inv. 19, dossier 217, f.183. I am most grateful to Dr Vyacheslav Fyodorov, of the State Hermitage Museum, and Dr Elena Karpova, of the State Russian Museum, St Petersburg, for all their help with Douglas’s busts of Peter the Great and the Empress Catherine, and particularly to Dr Karpova for alerting me to the material in the archives of the Academy.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, f.54.

Empress in the collection of Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky (1824-1896), that was transferred to the State Hermitage Museum in 1897 (Fig.11).²⁷

Surprisingly, there is no mention of a plaster bust or mould for a bust of Tsar Peter the Great on 30 October 1807. Instead, the entry about the bust of the Empress Catherine is accompanied by a payment “for the making of a mould from the statue of Venus without arms [i.e. the Tauride Venus] for the English envoy”.²⁸

It is not until January 1808 that payment was made “for the making of a mould from the bronze bust of the Emperor Peter I, the work of Mister Rastrelli” and “for the casting from the given mould for the English envoy”.²⁹ The date alone suggests that Douglas’s bust of *Peter the Great* was a separate order, and this is corroborated by the presence of Rastrelli’s bust of *Peter the Great* in the Academy in the early nineteenth century. The bust would therefore have been easily available to the mould-makers, if needed, and there is no question of them being delayed by problems to do with access.³⁰

Nothing more is known about Douglas’s two busts until Zecalewsky’s letter of 15/28 October 1812, which refers to “deux caisses avec les Bustes de Bronze de Pierre I. et de Catherine II.” awaiting shipment, with the mirrors, from St Petersburg.³¹

During the early stages of research, the existence of cast iron busts of the Empress Catherine after the Russian sculptor Fedot Shubin, dated 1809,³² and of Peter the Great after Rastrelli, dated 1810,³³ suggested that Douglas’s bronze busts might also have been made in Andrei Andreevich Batashev’s Gusevsky Manufactory. The Batashev foundries would have been able to cast in bronze and there is the possibility that Douglas’s bronze busts could have led to the cast iron

²⁷ State Hermitage Museum, inv. N H. ck. 501. I am much obliged to Anna Vilenskaya of the State Hermitage Museum for showing me the bronze in storage and for supplying photographs of it.

²⁸ RGIA, fonds 789, inv. 19, dossier 217, f.183.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, dossier 220, f.18.

³⁰ A mould had been taken from Rastrelli’s bronze bust and two plaster casts made from it in 1805. One of the casts was for Andrei Andreevich Batashev and the other for the Academy: see *ibid.*, dossier 211, f.70.

³¹ HA, Bundle 698, Zecalewsky to Douglas, 15/28 October 1812. Zecalewsky does not mention a copy of the “Tauride Venus”, and there is currently nothing to suggest that the work reached Britain.

³² An example, signed and dated “P.K.A.A.B.G.Z. 1809” (i.e. made by Andrei Andreevich Batashev’s Gusevsky Manufactory in 1809), is illustrated in Chouvalov and Kugel 1998, p.57, no.162.

³³ See the example in the State Russian Museum, St Petersburg (inv. no. CK-1916), which is dated 1810 on the left and inscribed on the back, in Russian: “THE WORK OF COLLEGE ASSESSOR I. KOVALYER” and “A.A.B.G.Z.”.

busts a little later. However, the link with Stroganov and the Academy, along with the discoveries that Batashev was supplied with a plaster model of Rastrelli's *Peter the Great* in 1805³⁴ and that Douglas's bust of the Empress was after Houdon, not Shubin, point in another direction.

Basically, there are now three possibilities. The most appealing is that the busts were actually cast in the Official Bronze Manufactory of the Academy, which had a tradition of casting busts of antique gods and public figures³⁵ and was often attended by spectators, who could see pieces being made by the lost-wax process.³⁶ This has the merit of being simple and straightforward, with everything being carried out "in house". But the second option is almost as neat and easy. It is that the plaster models could have been taken to the State Bronze Manufactory, which had been founded in 1804 on the initiative of Count Stroganov and A.F. Bestuzhev, the senior manager of the Ekaterinburg Lapidary Manufactory and Peterhof Stone Polishing Manufactory.³⁷ The Stroganov-Bestuzhev manufactory had been established to make bronze supports and mounts for the stone products of the other factories, but undertook outside orders to recoup the real cost of the work for the imperial court. Alternatively, the busts could have been cast in one of the private bronze workshops in the capital, possibly by somebody who had previously been employed in the first State or Imperial Bronze Manufactory, which had been closed by Tsar Paul I in 1797.³⁸

It is to be hoped that scholars in Russia will be able to pursue these possibilities, concentrating first on the Academy and Stroganov, and then, if need be, investigating the links between Stroganov's protégé Andrei Voronikhin, the architect of Kazan Cathedral, and the cathedral committee and independent foundries .

Much more needs to be done, but we have discovered two salient pieces of information. We now know that Douglas's bust of Catherine was after Houdon (rather than Shubin) and that it was commissioned first. The bust of Peter appears to have been an afterthought, a nice "pairing" of Russia's two great Westernisers and of

³⁴ See footnote 30. Batashev is also said to have exhibited a cast of Peter the Great at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in 1804.

³⁵ See Bondil 2005, p.195.

³⁶ See Hunter-Stiebel 2000, p.157.

³⁷ Sychev 2003, pp.90-3.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.48.

two very fine portrait busts, and one that was easy to achieve because Rastrelli's original bronze bust was in the Academy. This is important because the priority that Douglas gave to the bust of Catherine underlines his fascination, indeed obsession, with the Empress.

We now come to what is unquestionably Douglas's principal Russian acquisition: the tapestry portrait of the Empress Catherine, commissioned from the Imperial Tapestry Manufactory in St Petersburg. This forgotten work was purchased by Joel Joseph Duveen, "the Tapestry King", at the 1882 Hamilton Place sale for £325 10 shillings and passed to the leading dealers, French and Company, in New York, who had it photographed. The excellent surviving print in the French and Company archive in the Getty Research Institute (Fig.12) shows that the Hamilton tapestry was a copy of the official oil portrait of the Empress by Fyodor Stepanovich Rokotov of about 1779-80³⁹ (which, in turn, was based on Alexander Roslin's less glamorous portrait of 1776⁴⁰), and that it was dated 1811, on the bottom left-hand side.

It is not known when the tapestry was commissioned but it was probably in 1807 or 1808, when Douglas was either a serving ambassador or still in Russia and able to make use of his diplomatic status and contacts. There would normally have been a considerable interval between commissioning and delivery, and this may have been increased if the Imperial Tapestry Manufactory had a lot of orders on its books and priority had to be given to state commissions.

The earliest reference to the commission in the Hamilton archive appears to be a letter of 3 May 1811, in which Richard Riga notes "The Tapestry Work (H: I: M Catharines Picture) I understand is quite ready".⁴¹ This is confirmed by a bill for 3,700 roubles from the "Inspecteur de la Manufacture Toupilleff", dated 6 June, which gives the cost as 2,000 roubles for the tapestry itself, 1,500 for the glazing and

³⁹ For Rokotov's portrait of the Empress in the State Hermitage Museum, see Bondil 2005, pp.10 and 268.

⁴⁰ For Roslin's portrait of the Empress in the Hermitage Museum, see the Nationalmuseum Stockholm exhibition catalogue *Catherine the Great & Gustav III* (Stockholm, 1998), p.103.

⁴¹ HA, Bundle 698, Riga to Douglas, 3 May 1811.

200 for packing.⁴² Writing on 30 June, Baron Rall also states that the tapestry was “ready” for collection.⁴³

Following work in the United States, it can now be proved that Douglas’s work is the tapestry of the Empress Catherine in the Musée Fondation Zoubov in Geneva (Fig.13), which has almost the same measurements as the Hamilton tapestry at the time of the 1882 sale – 264.5 x 182 cm. (approximately 8 feet 8 inches by 5 feet 11½ inches) as opposed to Christie’s 1882 dimensions of 8 feet 10 inches by 5 feet 10 inches – and the “right” date of 1811.

The Zoubov tapestry is one of only two known, surviving full-length tapestries of the Empress Catherine (the other is dated 1833⁴⁴) and is said, by the Zoubov Foundation, to have come from Pavlovsk Palace, outside St Petersburg.⁴⁵ However, there are no documents in the Foundation to support this,⁴⁶ and the curatorial staff now accept that this is an allegation, rather than a fact.⁴⁷

Thankfully, there is a very good “paper trail” in the United States that enables us to “square the circle” and confirm that the Hamilton and Zoubov tapestries are one and the same. In his books on tapestries published in 1913 and 1925, George Leland Hunter states that a tapestry of Catherine the Great was on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and he corrects Christie’s 1882 attribution of the Hamilton work to the Gobelins to the Imperial Tapestry Manufactory.⁴⁸ Hunter illustrates the tapestry in his 1913 book and notes in the caption (and in the text of the 1925 book) that it bears the date 1811.

⁴² HA, Bundle 1006, bill from the Imperial Tapestry Manufactory for the tapestry of the Empress Catherine II, 6 June 1811. “Toupilleff” was the Academician Ivan Tupylev, who became Inspector of the Manufactory in 1793 and its Director in 1818: see Bondil 2005, p.251. The fact that Douglas was charged for the tapestry proves that it was a private commission, rather than a diplomatic present, and that he would have had to wait until the Tapestry Works could fit the weaving in between more important and urgent orders.

⁴³ HA, Bundle 1006, Rall to Douglas, 30 June 1811.

⁴⁴ The 1833 tapestry is illustrated and catalogued by Korshunova 1975, as no.183, with measurements of 272 x 210 cm. (8 feet 11 inches by 6 feet 10¾ inches).

⁴⁵ Letter from Nadia Bot, Musée Fondation Zoubov, 18 April 2002.

⁴⁶ The Foundation has few, if any, letters and bills relating to the acquisitions of Count Sergei Platonovich Zoubov and his wife.

⁴⁷ Letter for Nadia Bot, 8 August 2002.

⁴⁸ Hunter 1913, pp.228-9, and Hunter 1925, p.227. The tapestry is also illustrated, as a product of the Gobelins workshop, in H.C. Candee, *The Tapestry Book* (New York, 1912), opposite p.133, but with no mention of its whereabouts.

A stock sheet in the French and Company archive in the Getty Research Institute records that the tapestry was bought from John Fenning on 27 March 1918 and that it came from the “Hamilton Palace Collection”.⁴⁹ French and Company lent the *Empress Catherine* to the major exhibitions of tapestries at San Francisco Museum of Art in 1922⁵⁰ and Detroit Institute of Arts in 1930⁵¹ and finally sold it to “N. De Koengsb[illegible]g” (i.e. Nicholas de Koenigsberg) on 8 October 1940.⁵² Nicholas de Koenigsberg’s parents were art dealers who concentrated on South America,⁵³ and it therefore seems reasonable to think that the tapestry could have passed to the Countess Zoubov, who came from a very wealthy family in Argentina.⁵⁴

The association of the Hamilton/French and Company tapestry with the Zoubovs is further strengthened by the presence in the Dining Room of the Zoubov Museum of the early eighteenth-century woodwork and a marble chimneypiece that are said to have come from Hamilton Palace.⁵⁵ Both the woodwork and chimneypiece passed through French and Company,⁵⁶ and underscore the basic point that the Zoubovs were buying items that were or had been in the United States.

The tapestry of the Empress was Douglas’s pre-eminent acquisition relating to the Empress, but it was certainly not his only one. As we have seen, he also commissioned a bronze bust of the Empress while in Russia, and a memorandum that he himself wrote and signed records that he returned to Britain with “A sable muff belonging to Catherine II Empress of Russia”. This was clearly a cherished memento

⁴⁹ GRI, French and Company archive, stock sheet 4656. I am grateful to Tracey Schuster for enabling me to read the complete text recording that the tapestry came from the “Hamilton Palace Collection”, which is underneath an added piece of paper.

⁵⁰ Ackerman 1922, pp.54-5, no.73.

⁵¹ Detroit Institute of Arts 1930, p.14, no.22, ill. p.33.

⁵² GRI, French and Company archive, stock sheet 4656. During the previous decade, the tapestry was also illustrated in H. Göbel, *Wandteppiche. III. Teil. Die Germanischen und Slawischen Länder* (Berlin, 1934), Vol. II, pl.196b, and H.C. Candee, *The Tapestry Book* (2nd edition, New York, 1935), opposite p.133.

⁵³ GRI, Burton Fredericksen card index.

⁵⁴ Bourlet and Bot 2001, p.40.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.14-5.

⁵⁶ GRI, French and Company archive, Woodwork/Interiors, Hamilton Palace box. French and Company bought many of the interiors from Hamilton Palace in 1920, in the wake of the 1919 Hamilton Palace sale. Unfortunately, there is no stock number on the relevant photograph of the room and chimneypiece and it is only related to Hamilton Palace by the annotation “Hamilton ?” on the reverse. The back also bears the number 19250, which is a photograph or negative number. Three related photographs, all inscribed “Georgian room (see Hamilton)”, show what appears to be the same

because Douglas records that he himself placed it in the charter room of Hamilton Palace in January 1809, along with “My full powers as Ambassador to the Court of Russia”.⁵⁷

Douglas probably also acquired two painted portraits of the Empress during his time in Russia. Both are recorded on the 1811 Hamilton Place inventory, with other paintings associated with the 9th Duke and Douglas. “Catharine 2^d.. of Russia” is listed in the Breakfast Room (the first room of the State Apartments on the first floor of the west wing),⁵⁸ while “Catharine 2,^d Empress of Russia” was in a “Drawing Room”, probably in the east wing.⁵⁹

Little is known about the other items that Douglas brought back to Britain in 1808, but a letter from Baron Rall of June 1811 reveals that Douglas returned to Britain with “three antique Cameos” belonging to the Roman banker Marin Torlonia, which Rall had allowed him to take at a price of 3,000 ducats.⁶⁰ Another letter from Rall records that neither Rall nor Torlonia had received payment by August 1812,⁶¹ and it transpires that the transaction was not resolved until February 1816, when Douglas’s brother was in Italy.⁶² After protracted and unpleasant negotiations, Lord Archibald paid £440, plus £225 interest, for the “Augustus Head” and returned the other two cameos to Torlonia.⁶³ The description, coupled with the very high price, indicates that the “Augustus Head” was probably the agate cameo portrait identified as the “Head of the Emperor Augustus” in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale catalogue,⁶⁴ which was sold to the dealer T.M. Whitehead for £882 and is now in the Art Institute of Chicago (Fig.14).⁶⁵

panelling with a different chimneypiece and are numbered 18098B, 18098C and 18098E. The latter is inscribed with the cross reference “see also S.29244 N.10901 [and] Rec 18779 for chimney alone”.

⁵⁷ HA, M10/179, memorandum written by Douglas, 10 January 1809.

⁵⁸ HA, M4/67; see Appendix 2, 44.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*; see Appendix 2, 130.

⁶⁰ HA, Bundle 1006, Rall to Douglas, 30 June 1811.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Rall to Douglas, 16 August 1812.

⁶² All Lord Archibald Hamilton’s letters found to date relating to the cameos are in Appendix 7.

⁶³ HA, Bundle 935, Lord Archibald Hamilton to Douglas, 29 February 1816.

⁶⁴ 1882 HPS, lot 2164.

⁶⁵ The cameo is identified as the Emperor Tiberius in the post-sale souvenir catalogue (HPSSC, lot 2164) and is now regarded as Tiberius. For a discussion of the cameo itself, see McCrory 2000, pp.60-2. The head is mounted on a double-sided pendant with the Medici emblem of a pruned, sprouting laurel tree and the motto “It always flourishes” in Greek, but there is no mention of the pendant in the correspondence found to date.

Douglas certainly acquired books and manuscripts while in Russia and Scandinavia,⁶⁶ but there is no archival evidence to support William Clarke's claim in 1819 that "The Greek and Latin manuscripts obtained by his Lordship when on his diplomatic mission to Russia, are unrivalled specimens of early art".⁶⁷ As we saw in chapter one, Douglas obtained the "Golden Gospels" and over 120 other manuscripts between 1799 and 1806, and we will shortly find (in chapter three) that many of his other major Greek and Latin manuscripts were purchased between 1814 and 1819. There is therefore the possibility that Douglas encouraged Clarke to think that his manuscripts had more exciting provenances than dealers in Italy, London, Augsburg and Paris.

Douglas's acquisitions did not cease when he left Russia. He received items from his friends, notably two snuff boxes that were sent by Count Walicky in May 1811,⁶⁸ and also ordered and obtained further material from his agents.

The best recorded later order is for a parquet floor – a Russian speciality – that Douglas asked John Booker (who is described as "our English agent" at Kronstadt by Martha Wilmot⁶⁹) to acquire for him. The date of the commission is not mentioned, but it was clearly before the summer of 1811, because on Christmas Day 1811 Booker felt obliged to apologise "from motives of shame" for the "long time" that had elapsed between receiving the request and writing to Douglas about it.⁷⁰ Booker had entrusted the commission to others, including his nephew John Simpson, and it seems that they were unlucky. They failed to get one floor they ordered, and then, "after looking round the whole town, & only finding a few", chose another at 725 roubles 94 kopecks – about £49.⁷¹ This was sent to Kronstadt, the main port for St Petersburg, but it was too late in the year to be shipped, and had to remain in a

⁶⁶ In fact, there are surprisingly few obviously Russian-related manuscripts among the Hamilton Manuscripts. The most noteworthy appear to be the collection of thirteenth/fourteenth-century Russian religious writings, Berlin, Hamilton 381, which was bound by Meyer, and the nineteenth-century armorial, with fifty-two coats of arms of Russian nobility, Berlin, Hamilton 77 A 2 (formerly Hamilton 582): see Boese, pp.180 and 283, and Sotheby's 1882 *Catalogue of the Hamilton Collection of Manuscripts*, under 381 and 582.

⁶⁷ Clarke 1819, p.257.

⁶⁸ Richard Riga notes in his letter to Douglas dated 3 May 1811 that "Count Walitsky" "writes by this occasion, forwarding a Packet. (I believe 2 Snuff boxes)". They are probably synonymous with the boxes that Walicky mentions in his letters to Douglas of 12 December 1810 and 5 February 1811 as coming from "Comte Golofkin à Moscow". All three letters are in HA, Bundle 698.

⁶⁹ Londonderry and Hyde 1939, p.19.

⁷⁰ HA, Bundle 722, John Booker to Douglas, 25 December 1811.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Booker to Douglas, 6 January 1812.

warehouse until sailings began the following year. Although this was disappointing, Booker congratulated Douglas “as the losses among the Ships, which sailed from Russia this autumn, are unprecedented”.

Douglas’s mirrors and busts of *Peter the Great* and the *Empress Catherine* seem to have been held up in St Petersburg by the Continental Blockade, and the instructions for shipping them appear to be linked to Napoleon’s invasion of Russia and the threat to St Petersburg. According to Zecalewsky, writing in French in October 1812, there were nine crates awaiting shipment:

four crates with the mirrors, two crates which Your Excellency sent me at the same time, but I am not aware of their contents, and two crates with the bronze busts of Peter I and Catherine II.⁷²

The ninth crate consisted of “une petit caisse avec la figure Antique representante Diane d’Effesse”⁷³ and did not belong to Douglas. It was a piece that Zecalewsky hoped he might buy:

On this occasion I took the liberty to send to Your Excellency’s address a crate with the Antique statue belonging to me which Your Excellency has seen at my house. It is the Diana of Ephesus, a Greek work, the Paros coarse grain marble being proof of its authenticity. All the connoisseurs and artists have admired this Antique piece, the head of which is well preserved. Princess Radzivell and afterwards the late Count Strogonoff wanted to have it, but then I was not willing to part with it, and now I have asked Madame de Gerebzoﬀ to kindly find some Amateur willing to acquire it. I beg Your Excellency to have the kindness to show some interest in this piece.⁷⁴

All nine crates were sent to Kronstadt, where it turned out they were too large for the intended ships.⁷⁵ Eight crates were shipped aboard the *Nancy* (Captain Thomas Brooks), while the ninth – which would not go down the hatches – was put on the *Nelly* (Captain Hag[o or e]n). As the season was so far advanced, the *Nancy* wintered in a Swedish port, while the *Nelly* was frozen up in Kronstadt. Both ships

⁷² HA, Bundle 698, Zecalewsky to Douglas, 15/28 October 1812.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Zecalewsky to Douglas, 24 October/5 November 1812.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Zecalewsky to Douglas, 15/28 October 1812. There is no evidence that Alexander purchased the marble statue or statuette of Diana. It is not recorded by Michaelis in his reviews of the classical antiquities in – or formerly in – Hamilton Palace, in 1882 and 1885.

⁷⁵ HA, Bundle 1129, Anderson to Douglas, 22 January 1813.

eventually reached England the following year,⁷⁶ and it was subsequently discovered that the mirrors had been broken.⁷⁷

The tapestry of the Empress had apparently been evacuated, with other items from the Imperial Tapestry Manufactory,⁷⁸ and was shipped to Britain separately in 1813.⁷⁹

Another portrait of the Empress may also have been sent in 1813. On 22 January 1813 the Italian architect Giacomo Quarenghi (1744-1817) wrote to Douglas, in Italian, about a number of matters, including a “superb portrait of Catherine the Great, on horseback, in the military uniform of the day of the revolution”, which he believed was the sketch by the Danish painter Vigilius Eriksen for the “great portrait” at Peterhof.⁸⁰ Quarenghi was therefore referring to a small painting that followed the composition of Eriksen’s huge portrait of the Empress, on her horse Brilliant, in the Imperial palace of Peterhof, to the west of St Petersburg, which celebrates her *coup d’état* against her husband on 28 June 1762. On that day Catherine gained the support of the Imperial guards, clergy and senators in St Petersburg, assumed the rank of Colonel of the Preobrazhensky regiment, put on the uniform of Peter the Great’s élite regiment, and rode at the head of her army to Peterhof, where she forced Peter III’s abdication the next day.

Quarenghi followed this up four months later. In a letter to Douglas dated 16 May 1813, Matthew Anderson states that he is enclosing a “small note” relating to a “Portrait of the Empress Cathrine” “from one who is truly devoted to your Lordship”.⁸¹ The enclosure appears to have been either the hastily scribbled, undated

⁷⁶ On 11 October 1813 Douglas sent a draft for £10 13s 4d to pay for the shipping of the large crate aboard the *Nelly*: see HA, Bundle 680, W. Chappell to Douglas, 16 October 1813.

⁷⁷ See HA, Bundle 706, Anderson to Douglas, 22 April/4 May 1814.

⁷⁸ HA, Bundle 698, Zecalewsky to Douglas, 15/28 October 1812. Zecalewsky writes, in French: “it so happens that this portrait has been sent away a month ago, as a precaution, before I had the honour of receiving Your Excellency’s letter, with all the precious things of the Manufactory, to a safe place, in case of some mishap. Therefore this portrait will stay here till next spring when it will be possible to send it.”

⁷⁹ HA, Bundle 1129, Anderson to Douglas, 16/28 May 1813.

⁸⁰ HA, Bundle 698, Quarenghi to Douglas, 22 January 1813. Quarenghi writes about “un superbo ritratto della Grande Caterina a Cavallo in abito militare nel giorno della rivoluzione che è un capo d’opera e fatto appo l’originale cioè natura, del celebre [?Eri]son che ha servitor per il gran Ritratto che era a Peteroff, malgrado che sono tutto rovinato sono arrivato sino a mille e duecento Rubli, ma il propr[i]etario, ne vuole aver più.”

⁸¹ HA, Bundle 1129, Anderson to Douglas, 16/28 May 1813. Anderson left it to Douglas to decide whether it would “be desirable to make the purchase”. He goes on to note that “Signor Dilecati” had given him “a very pretty little Canone” to forward to Douglas. This provides a direct link with

note in French from Quarenghi to Anderson, which is in the same bundle, or a closely related missing note or letter from Quarenghi to Douglas himself. In the note, Quarenghi informs Anderson:

Mr. Delicati told me of a conversation you had with the Marquis of Douglas about a portrait of Her Majesty Catherine the Great. I would have liked this commission, and the letter you had the kindness of taking for him was about the same commission, having had the luck of finding a superb one [i.e. portrait] from nature in the costume of the Preobrazhensky Guards[, the] costume of the day of the revolution.⁸²

Nothing more has been found in the Hamilton archive about this proposed purchase, but Douglas must either have bought the painting or else he already owned a very similar portrait and did not need to take up Quarenghi's offer. The 1882 Hamilton Palace sale included an "Equestrian Portrait of the Empress Catherine of Russia", measuring 39 by 35 inches,⁸³ which was bought by the dealer Duncan for £115 10 shillings⁸⁴ and passed to the collector Christopher Beckett Denison (who bought dozens of Hamilton items)⁸⁵ and then on to Lord Rivers and Captain G. Pitt-Rivers. This portrait was included in Christie's catalogue for the Pitt-Rivers sale in May 1929,⁸⁶ with measurements of 39½ by 34½ inches, and a photograph of it is preserved in the photograph boxes in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York (Fig.15).⁸⁷

We may not be able to say, as yet, whether the Hamilton equestrian portrait came from Quarenghi or was one of the two paintings of the Empress listed on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, but it is clearly recorded – as the "Empress Catherine of Russia on Horseback from S^t. Petersburg [£]50" – in the Breakfast

Quarenghi's note and the connection is confirmed by references in both Anderson's letter and Quarenghi's note to the death of Dr Pitt, the clergyman serving the British community in St Petersburg.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Quarenghi to Anderson, undated.

⁸³ 1882 HPS, lot 691.

⁸⁴ 1882 HPSSC, lot 691.

⁸⁵ Christie, Manson and Woods, *The Valuable Collection of Pictures, Works of Art, and Decorative Objects of Christopher Beckett Denison, Esq.*, London, 13 June 1885, lot 894.

⁸⁶ Christie, Manson and Woods, *Important Pictures by Old Masters*, London, 3 May 1929, lot 49, as "Van Loo" and "From the Hamilton Collection, 1885 [sic] From the Beckett Denison Collection, 1885".

⁸⁷ The illustration suggests that the painting is a copy after Eriksen.

Room in 1835,⁸⁸ and a drawing of a picture arrangement suggests it was hanging in the centre of the top line of paintings on the main wall around 1847.⁸⁹

The Consequences of Douglas's Visit to Russia

The obvious consequence of the visit was that Douglas had a great deal of impressive material to use and display in Hamilton Palace and elsewhere. He was allowed to keep the ambassadorial silver service as a "perk of office" and it formed the basis of the main silver service of the 10th and 11th Dukes of Hamilton. Letters, bills and inventories record that additions were made to the "St Petersburg" service in the early 1810s and early 1830s, and it ended up weighing over 12,000 ounces.⁹⁰

Following his return from Russia, Douglas set up a throne at the east end of the 120-foot-long Gallery. Dr Spiker's account of his visit to the palace in 1816 and the 1825 inventory raise question marks as to what was on display in the 1810s and '20s,⁹¹ but by 1835 there is general acceptance that what can be seen in the photograph taken by *Country Life* in 1919 (Fig.16) were the 10th Duke's ambassadorial throne and canopy.⁹²

The 1825 inventory records the bronze busts of *Peter the Great* and the *Empress Catherine* in the Breakfast Room, on Russian granite columns that must have been the columns imported through Leith from St Petersburg in 1807.⁹³ Displayed in the same room was a portrait of "Cathrine 2^d.. of Russia", valued at

⁸⁸ HTHL, 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory, p.159.

⁸⁹ HA, Bundle 665, arrangement of pictures in or for the Breakfast Room, c.1847.

⁹⁰ A discussion of the service and all the main inventory descriptions of it between 1806 and 1853 will be found in Appendix 6.

⁹¹ Spiker records "a throne with the ducal arms over it" (Spiker 1820, I, p.246), rather than a throne with the arms of Great Britain over it, while the 1825 inventory lists "A Throne [£]10 10 ,, / A Large gilt Chair [£]7 7 ,, / 3 Footstools Gilt [£]5 10 ,, / 2 Embroidered Cushions [£] 5 5 ,, [...]" (HA, M4/70, p.1).

⁹² In July 1835 the Reverend William Patrick states "At the upper end of the gallery is the present Duke's ambassadorial throne, brought from his embassy at St Petersburg" (*The New Statistical Account of Scotland. Vol. VI. Lanark* (Edinburgh and London, 1845), p.274. The 1835 inventory follows the 1825 inventory in referring to "A Throne £10 10 ,, / A Large Gilt Chair covered with Crimson Damask 7 7 ,, [...]" (HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.129).

⁹³ A copy of a letter from Alexander Young to Bell, Rannie & Company, dated 24 October 1807 (HA, Bundle 603), records that two columns sent by Booker from St Petersburg, with some of Douglas's baggage and goods, were being held up at Customs in Leith and that there was confusion as to whether they were made of marble or granite. Young refers to a letter from Booker and the bill of lading and tells the agents that the columns were granite.

£50.⁹⁴ Two rooms further along, in the State Bedroom, hung another portrait of “Cathrine 2^d.. of Russia”, estimated at £25.⁹⁵

As we shall see in the next chapter, the tapestry of the Empress almost certainly inspired the commissioning of Jacques-Louis David’s portrait of *The Emperor Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries*, and would eventually be placed in the final, most private room in the New State Rooms, the Boudoir, with other prized items.⁹⁶

Douglas continued to be inspired by Russia long after his return, and it is important to recognize the influence of Giacomo Quarenghi upon him and the new north-facing addition to the palace, which was designed and built between 1822 and 1831. Quarenghi had arrived in Russia in 1780 and transformed St Petersburg over the next twenty-five years. As the Empress Catherine observed, the whole city was “stuffed” with his architecture as early as 1785;⁹⁷ by one modern estimate, Quarenghi was responsible for forty-five major buildings in the centre and a further twenty-five in the suburbs and outskirts.⁹⁸

Douglas’s letter of 5 March 1807 testifies to his approval of Quarenghi’s style of Italianate Neo-classical architecture:

I am delighted with the beauty and magnificence of this town _ I could not have believed that so near the Pole I should have found all the elegance & Simitry of Italian architecture _⁹⁹

Douglas would naturally have focused on Quarenghi’s Imperial commissions – the “English Palace” at Peterhof,¹⁰⁰ the theatre and library in the Hermitage and the Alexander Palace at Tsarskoye Selo – but Quarenghi was also responsible for many large palaces for the leading aristocratic families, including the Stroganovs,

⁹⁴ HA, M4/70, p.167; Appendix 2, 44.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.170; Appendix 2, 130.

⁹⁶ See Waagen 1854, III, pp.304-5, and HA, Volume 1228, p.117. It is interesting to see that Waagen was under the illusion that the tapestry had been “Presented to the Duke during his residence in St. Petersburg.”

⁹⁷ For Catherine’s comments about Quarenghi, see Hamilton 1975, p.213.

⁹⁸ Lincoln 2000, p.49.

⁹⁹ HA, C4/532, Douglas to 9th Duke, 5 March 1807.

¹⁰⁰ Quarenghi’s design of the front, with a layout of the park, in the Biblioteca Civica, Bergamo, is illustrated in Alfieri 1991, p.46.

Sheremetievs, Isupovs, Gagarins and Lanskois.¹⁰¹ Douglas must have viewed the exteriors and many of the interiors of these palaces, because he claimed the Stroganovs as his friends and mentioned that many people had invited him to dinners and the “most magnificent fêtes”.¹⁰² He would also have learnt that Quarenghi had designed a villa for Lord Whitworth, the former British ambassador.¹⁰³

Quarenghi was unquestionably the most successful architect in Russia in 1807-8. The ambassador and architect duly met and, at some point, Douglas commissioned Quarenghi to design a “Casa”, or house, for him. This was probably in 1807 or 1808, but we cannot be certain. All that we know at present is that Quarenghi wrote a third letter to Douglas in April 1810, seeking details and measurements that would enable him to complete his designs.¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately, the designs for the “Casa” are not preserved in the Hamilton archive. What survive are Quarenghi’s designs for baths in the Neo-classical¹⁰⁵ and Turkish styles¹⁰⁶ and a riding school.¹⁰⁷ The latter are related to the riding school for the Imperial Horse Guards Regiment, undertaken between 1800 and 1804, and appear to have inspired or influenced the 10th Duke’s riding school, which was built much later and is now part of Low Parks Museum, Hamilton.

Before he departed to visit his native town of Bergamo in 1810, Quarenghi left a “Vol[ume] of his works” for Douglas with Matthew Anderson.¹⁰⁸ This would have been the first part of *Edifices construits à St Pétersbourg d’après les plans du chevalier de Quarenghi et sous sa direction*, published in St Petersburg that year. Anderson failed to find anybody who could be relied upon to convey the gift safely, but was finally able to give it to Mr Politica, the new Secretary of Legation to the Russian Mission in Spain, to hand over to Douglas.¹⁰⁹ It was sent with Quarenghi’s

¹⁰¹ For a review of Quarenghi’s work, see Hamilton 1975, pp.212-6. Like most accounts, this is very weak on Quarenghi’s non-royal palaces, which were used by various institutions during the Communist period, and are still difficult to visit and study.

¹⁰² HA, C4/532, Douglas to 9th Duke, 5 March 1807.

¹⁰³ For the Whitworth project, see Angelini 1998, pp.96 and 99.

¹⁰⁴ Quarenghi wrote to Alexander from St Petersburg on 3 April 1810: “Questa é la terza lettera che ho l’onore di scriverle, doppo averle mandato il piano della sua Casa senza averre avuto alcun riscontro per poter continuare a fare il resto de disegni” [etc] (HA, Bundle 1129).

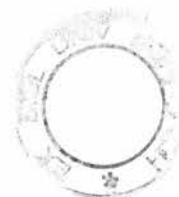
¹⁰⁵ HA, drawing 184.

¹⁰⁶ HA, drawings 185-188.

¹⁰⁷ HA, drawing 195. There are also two engravings of designs after Quarenghi for “botteghe” near to the Anichkov Bridge, in St Petersburg (drawings 191 and 192).

¹⁰⁸ HA, Bundle 1129, Anderson to Douglas, undated.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, Anderson to Douglas, 3/15 October 1812.



“profound respects, requesting you would do him the honor to accept the same as a token of his respect & high consideration”.

Douglas does not seem to have given Quarenghi any more work after 1812, but Quarenghi's very plain, simple, conservative style of Palladian-Neo-classical architecture must have encouraged him to look favourably upon the (old-fashioned) designs that William Adam had drawn up for a new addition to Hamilton Palace in the 1730s for the 5th Duke of Hamilton. They were published in *Vitruvius Scoticus* in 1812 and form the real starting point for the new north block.

The extent of Quarenghi's influence on Douglas is open to debate, but there can be no doubt that the assistance Douglas gave William Allan was crucial to the painter's development. Although we have few details, Douglas was clearly responsible for arranging for Allan to travel to Tulczyn in 1807 and to benefit from the Countess's patronage over the next six years.

In an unpublished letter, dated 16 January 1812, Allan acknowledges Douglas's assistance:

But your Lordship best knows, your friendship to me has been such that I cannot find language adequate to express my feelings for your uncommon interest in my welfare, therefore I can only offer you the plain language of my heart, my sincerest thanks.¹¹⁰

Douglas's main service was to get the artist to Tulczyn and in a position to explore the lands and peoples of the Black Sea area and find subjects that excited him. Allan's letter to Douglas reveals the destruction that he witnessed and also the large construction projects planned by his patron, the Countess:

Since your Lordships departure from Toulczin [i.e. Tulczyn], I have travell'd a great deal, in the Crimia and around the sea of Azoff along the Covban, as far as Sircassia, I have made a few sketches but not so many a[s] I could have wish'd our journey in the Crimia was very interesting and agreeable, I regreted your Lordship was not of the party as I am confident the journey would have afforded you much pleasure, We were six days on horse back in passing the south side of the Crimia, the Countess withstood it astonishingly but the scenery repaid our fatigue t'was beyond all description we were in number not less than fifty including they Tartars and Greeks that went along with us. The Countess intends building a town on the south side at a place call'd Yealta and the new town is to be call'd Sophiopolis, each house will

¹¹⁰ HA, Bundle 698, William Allan to Douglas, 16 January 1812.

cost eight thousand roubles. Her Ladyship has already a great number of subscribers that intend to build according to the plan____
 The Countess has been much employed lately in rebuilding three towns that were burnt last year. Toulczen Nemiroff and Humaine, In Toulczen four hundred and fifty houses and one woman were consum'd. Nemiroff not a house left a great number of Jews that went into their cellars to be out of danger were suffocated, Humaine about sixty houses were reduced to ashes, Almost every town in this part of the World has suffered by fire, Kioff one thousand houses and thirteen Churches when I passed through it was burning in three different places, supposed to be done on purpose, numbers have been taken up for it and sent to S^t Petersbourg The Countess has been ill this same time with a bad cold and fever what with her journey from Toulczen and the bad weather, but its expected will soon be reestablish'd in good health. The Children send their complements to you, and in the mean time I am with the greatest regard

My Lord

Your faithful humble servant

W^m Allan¹¹¹

By a strange quirk of fate, Allan's best paintings of his Russian experiences and travels – *Bashkirs* and *Frontier Guards*, undertaken directly after his return to Edinburgh in 1814 – were purchased by Tsar Alexander I's brother, the future Nicholas I, during his visit to Edinburgh in December 1816 and are now in the Hermitage in St Petersburg.¹¹²

According to Jeremy Howard, Douglas assisted Allan to get the painting *Russian Peasants keeping their Holiday* exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1809.¹¹³ Allan sought Douglas's help again at the beginning of the letter that has just been quoted,¹¹⁴ but nothing more by the artist was shown until the 1815 Royal Academy exhibition.

Douglas received two paintings by Allan from Zofia Potocka in 1813. In a letter from the Russian capital dated 30 March 1813, the Countess tells Douglas she is sending him "deux Tableaux que Mr Alen a fait a Petersbourg", and comments, in

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² See Allen and Dukelskaya 1996, pp.190-1. A third painting acquired at the same time, *Haslan Gheray conducting Alkazia across the Kuban*, was transferred from the Hermitage to the Museum in Makhachkala, Daghestan, in 1930.

¹¹³ Howard 2001, p.46.

¹¹⁴ HA, Bundle 698, Allan to Douglas, 16 January 1812: "I am extremely sorry I had not an opportunity of sending the picture before this time, but M^r Morgan merchant in this place, going to London has taken it in charge and is to deliver it carefully to your Lordship. If it meets your approbation and worthy of a place in the exhibition ____".

French: “he is an excellent man and I thank you for him”.¹¹⁵ In another letter, dated 24 July, a man called Labensky informs Douglas that he is sending a case containing two paintings, on the “Edouard, Capitaine Coll[?]ie[r]”, addressed to the London merchants Sussmann & Company, as a present from the Countess.¹¹⁶ A delivery note from Sussmann’s dated 23 September 1813, addressed “To the Steward or House Keeper of the Marquis of Douglas & Clydesdale” for “a Chest [...] containing Pictures”, records the delivery of the paintings,¹¹⁷ and Sussmann’s bill, dated two days later, confirms that the paintings had been sent on the “Edward, Collier, from St. Petersburg”.¹¹⁸ Allan’s paintings appear to have been the “2 Pictures, Russian Villagers by Wm Allan”, valued at £40, listed in Lord Aboyne’s bedroom on the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventories,¹¹⁹ and the “Pair of Interiors, with Russian peasants”, measuring 10½ by 14 inches, which were sold to W. Permain at the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale for £31 10s.¹²⁰

The Countess’s letters of 1813 and 1814,¹²¹ including a request for Douglas to pay Allan “trois cent #”¹²² and a statement of her financial position,¹²³ indicate that Douglas and Zofia Potocka remained friends after they went their separate ways. In 1831 the 10th Duke would receive a request for financial help from Charlotte Léon, one of the governesses employed by the Countess in 1807-8,¹²⁴ and the Duke and his friends seem to have known members of the Potoccy family in Paris in the 1830s and ’40s. The clearest evidence of later contact is the malachite tazza given to the Duke’s sister and her husband, the Earl and Countess of Dunmore, by Count August Aleksandrovich Potocki and his wife, Countess Alexandra Stanislavovna Potocka, to

¹¹⁵ HA, Bundle 706, Potocka to Douglas, 30 March 1813.

¹¹⁶ HA, Bundle 1072, Labensky to Douglas, 24 July 1813.

¹¹⁷ HA, Bundle 680, delivery note from Sussmann and Company, 23 September 1813.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, “Account of Charges of one Case of Pictures, received p^r Edward, Collier, from S^t., Petersburg”, from Sussmann and Company, dated 25 September 1813. The account notes duty on 2 feet 4 inch frames.

¹¹⁹ HA, Volume 1223, p.55, and HTHL, 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory, p.71.

¹²⁰ 1882 HPSSC, lot 1081.

¹²¹ See HA, Bundle 706.

¹²² *Ibid.*, Potocka to Douglas, 22 June 1814.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, “Etat de ma Situation”.

¹²⁴ HA, Bundle 760, Léon to 10th Duke, 20 February 1831.

express their thanks and commemorate their stay at Dunmore Park, near Airth, in 1840.¹²⁵

The 10th Duke's life was conditioned by his experiences in Russia and Poland and he continued to react to stimuli from these quarters. As late as 1839 Charles de Beauvau, Prince of Craon, would tease his friend about the "seduction Polish ladies exert on your eyes and on your senses".¹²⁶ More pertinently, in 1850 – more than forty years after leaving Russia – the Duke would respond to comments about a copy of Ghiberti's *Gates of Paradise* having been made for the Tsar¹²⁷ by ordering a reduced copy for his own Mausoleum from John Steell.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ The tazza was included in Christie's sale of *Furniture, Silver and Porcelain from Longleat*, held in London, 13 June 2002, as lot 399. The Countess was a granddaughter of Count Szczęśny Potocki and his second wife.

¹²⁶ HA, Bundle 968, Charles de Beauvau to Duke, 29 May 1839.

¹²⁷ HA, C4/843A/16, Samuel Woodburn to Duke, 26 June 1850.

¹²⁸ HA, Bundle 665, B. Primrose to David Bryce, 7 November 1850.

Ambition, Marriage and Debt: Douglas's Patronage of Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, Jacques-Louis David and Raeburn and his Later Purchases of Manuscripts, 1809-1819

Douglas returned from Russia and Poland in 1808 inspired by the patronage and collecting of the Empress Catherine the Great, the leading Russian aristocrats and the Count and Countess Potoccy, and sought to emulate them. This chapter examines his response and sets it in a firm financial context. It is often assumed that the future 10th Duke of Hamilton was extremely wealthy and could indulge in expensive purchases and commissions without any real problem, but this was not the case. Douglas had large debts and limited resources and his ambitious collecting and patronage between 1809 and 1812 led to severe financial difficulties and retrenchment, followed by a return to the cheaper pursuit of collecting manuscripts.

Collecting and Purchasing Luxury Items, 1810-1812

Having failed to win the hand and fortune of the Countess Zofia, Douglas needed to marry another rich woman or heiress. He had come back to Scotland with substantial debts, which Alexander Young, one of his Edinburgh lawyers, arranged under three headings: debts that would “be paid in full whenever funds could be Commanded for the purpose”, debts for which “partial payments might be promised at stated periods”, and those that would “lye over, bearing Interest if demanded”.¹

Douglas did not have to look far for a suitable lady, because he was almost served up with Susan Euphemia Beckford on a platter by her father, William Beckford, and her carer, Douglas's unmarried sister, Lady Anne Hamilton. It was unquestionably an arranged marriage, with Douglas, at forty-two, gaining funds, and Susan, at only twenty-three, becoming a Marchioness and prospective Duchess (and Beckford himself acquiring enhanced status).

The basic marriage settlement was approved by the lawyer John Skynner “on behalf of all parties” on 23 December 1809.² Upon the solemnization of the

¹ HA, Bundle 1602, Young to Douglas, 26 October 1813.

² Bod, MS. Beckford c.89/1, draft indenture between William Beckford, Alexander Hamilton and Susan Euphemia Beckford, dated 23 December 1809. A more developed draft indenture, dated March 1810, survives as MS. Beckford c.89/2.

marriage, Douglas would receive Susan's investments of £4,000 3 per cent consolidated Bank Annuities and £2,100 3 per cent reduced Bank Annuities, and £10,000 from Beckford "for his own use". He would also get "a perpetual annual Sum or yearly rent charge of £2000 Sterling" from Beckford's plantations and estates in Jamaica, and, after the death of Rebecca Rowden of Chilmark, Susan's inheritance from her grandmother, Maria Beckford, of £2,000 3 per cent reduced Bank Annuities.

Despite his debts, Douglas began to spend the settlement even before it had been finalized. Following the example of the spendthrift Prince of Wales (later King George IV), he became a good customer of the royal goldsmiths Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, who had supplied his ambassadorial service.³ On 15 September Douglas purchased a "very fine Pearl Necklace" with fifty-five large pearls, from Rundell's, for £808 10s;⁴ and on 4 December he was charged for "3 Pair of very richly chased large size silver Candlesticks with chased triangular Branches".⁵ Weighing 1,138 ounces 5 pennyweights and engraved with the Hamilton "Crest & Coronet", the candelabra came to £998 10s 4d.⁶

In March 1810 – a month before his wedding – Douglas went on an even bigger spending spree. On 14 March Rundell's provided him with "a remarkably fine Brilliant Comb" (a hair ornament set with diamonds), a "large Brilliant Drop to play over the Centre", and a "pair of very curious India Cut drops to play on each side of" the comb.⁷ They were obviously for Susan and were priced at £2,409, £400 and £1,155 respectively: a total of £3,964. At the same time, Douglas also bought a

³ Rundell, Bridge and Rundell were unquestionably the leading British goldsmiths. Between 1798 and 1812 the Royal Jewel House paid the firm over £54,000. The Prince of Wales, "the engine of fashion", was acknowledged by Rundell's as their "greatest Patron & best Friend" as early as 1807. His orders led up to a 4,000-piece service costing £61,340 1s 2d in June 1811 and on to purchases totalling more than £105,000 during his reign in the 1820s. See Hartrop 2005, pp.15, 85 and 87-8.

⁴ HA, F2/1030, invoice from Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to the Marquis of Douglas for 1809-10. All the bills and letters relating to Rundell's are in Appendix 6.

⁵ HA, M12/5/18, invoice from Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale for 1808-11. The candlesticks and branches were still being made in late May 1810: see HA, M12/31, *Inventory of a rich shell & gadroon'd Service of Plate, made for The Most Noble The Marquis of Douglas & Clydesdale, by Rundell, Bridge & Rundell, June 1806*, dated 30 May 1810.

⁶ These candelabra are almost certainly the six included in the 1919 Hamilton Palace sale of silver: "Six Candelabra, chased with scale-pattern trellis-work, shells and foliage, and supporting branches for four lights each – 25 in. high – by Paul Storr, 1810 1127 [oz.] 15 [dwt.] In two oak chests" (Christie, Manson and Woods, *Fine English & Foreign Silver Plate*, London, 4 November 1919, lot 33).

⁷ HA, F2/1030.

“remarkably fine” 22-grain emerald costing £150, apparently for himself.⁸ On 26 March he was charged for another two candelabra. Described as “a Pair of richly chased Candlesticks & Branches, with 3 lights in Centre”, they weighed 307 ounces 5 dwt. and cost £277 5s 6d, including engraving “Crest & Coronet”.⁹

These purchases were not Douglas’s only extravagances prior to his wedding. At Christie’s on 31 March, Douglas bought Rubens’s oil painting of *The Loves of the Centaurs* (now in the Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon) (Fig.17), in his own name, for 610 guineas (£640 10s).¹⁰ The same day, Mease Sutton and Son of Wilton invoiced him for three crimson Brussels carpets and borders costing £436 1s.¹¹

There can be little doubt that Douglas purchased *The Loves of the Centaurs* as a triumphal wedding present to himself. It was an insensitive and also an extremely illuminating act. In the first place, it reveals Douglas’s own (unexpected) interest in the great Flemish painter and belief that *The Centaurs* would complement Rubens’s *Daniel in the Lions’ Den* and the oil sketches already in Hamilton Palace.¹² More importantly, the purchase demonstrates Douglas’s continuing respect for Sir William Hamilton, both as a man and as a collector. Sir William had been obliged to sell *The Centaurs*, with many other paintings and drawings, in 1765,¹³ but had managed to buy it back at Coxe’s sale of John Nesbitt’s collection on 25 May 1802 for 260 guineas.¹⁴ It was a very determined act because Sir William had been forced to disperse most of his later collection of paintings at Christie’s in March and April 1801 and was short of money. He evidently admired the work very much and felt that it was a rueful comment on the fraught relationship between his wife, Admiral Nelson and himself. After Sir William’s death the following year, *The Centaurs*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ HA, M12/5/18.

¹⁰ Christie, *Catalogue [...] of the Pictures, Original Drawings and Articles of Ancient Sculpture of the late Hon. C.F. Greville*, 31 March 1810, lot 95. Christie’s clerk’s copy of the catalogue is annotated “95 ~ 640.10 Marq. Douglas. [tick with line through it]”.

¹¹ HA, Bundle 679, copy of bill from Mease Sutton and Son, dated 31 March 1810. The order was probably placed earlier as a copy of a letter dated 4 May 1810, below the bill, records that the carpets and borders were actually shipped from London to Leith that day.

¹² The Rubens sketches will be discussed later in the chapter, but see the entries on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, Appendix 2, numbers 36, 39, 54, 74 and 128.

¹³ Jenkins and Sloan 1996, pp.80-1.

¹⁴ Writing on 25 May 1802, Farington says “Sir Wm. Hamilton bought [*The Centaurs*] for 260 guineas” (Garlick and MacIntyre 1979, p.1781). Annotated copies of the sale-catalogue record that the painting was purchased by the dealer William Segulier acting for Sir William.

passed, with a few other pictures, to his nephew Charles Greville.¹⁵ Greville died in 1809, and at the sale of his collection in late March 1810, Douglas pulled out all the stops and paid a very large amount of money to secure Sir William's celebrated work. As a rake, he presumably savoured the "appropriateness" of the title and subject-matter to Sir William and himself.

An isolated letter from the 4th Duke of Portland, dated 3 July 1810, sheds light on another aspect of Douglas's prodigality and also upon his veneration of Sir William.¹⁶ It reveals that either just before or, more likely, shortly after his marriage, Douglas made a "very liberal offer" to purchase the Portland Vase (which has been in the British Museum since 1810). The Duke of Portland had turned down the offer, probably because he was already committed to lending the vase to the Museum. Douglas had written to apologise, and Portland had replied again, on 3 July, ending with the promise: "If ever I should determine to part with the Vase Your Lordship may depend upon having the refusal of it."

This is a fascinating discovery. Douglas was being amazingly ambitious to try to gain possession of such a "treasure".¹⁷ The Portland Vase was not only acclaimed as the largest and finest example of Roman engraved cased glass, but was thought to have been the funerary urn that contained the ashes of either the Roman Emperor Alexander Severus (222-235 A.D.)¹⁸ or – as Sir William Hamilton argued – Alexander the Great.¹⁹ The attempted purchase confirms Douglas's interest in Classical antiquities and particularly in cut cameo work, and also his desire to acquire first-rate items with distinguished provenances – and especially items that had been owned by Sir William Hamilton. As Douglas would have known, at least in general terms, Sir William had bought the vase from the dealer James Byres, in Italy,

¹⁵ Jenkins and Sloan 1996, p.89.

¹⁶ HA, Bundle 956, "Scott Portland" to Douglas, 3 July 1810.

¹⁷ The natural home for the Portland Vase would have been a royal or imperial collection. As R.P. Knight noted: "The Duke of Portland has not given the Vase; but only deposited it in the British Museum. Should he however be disposed at any time to sell it, you will have a most formidable Competitor in the Prince of Bavaria, who is a most eager Collector of Antiquities; and as much enraptured by it as any of us": HA, Bundle 1004, Knight to Douglas, dated "27th" and on paper with the watermarked date 1812. A reference to the Towneley sale suggests the letter was written in 1814.

¹⁸ See Harden 1987, pp.58-65.

¹⁹ Writing to Josiah Wedgwood, Sir William declared: "I have no doubt of this [the Portland Vase] being a work of the time of Alexander the Great, and was probably brought out of Asia by Alexander, whose ashes were deposited therein after his death" (Fothergill 2005, p.150).

in the early 1780s for £1,000²⁰ and had sold it to the Dowager Duchess of Portland, in London, in 1784.²¹

The purchase of *The Centaurs* and the attempt to buy the Portland Vase show Douglas trying to improve the Hamilton collection, radically and dramatically, by the addition of exceptional items that had the added kudos of having been owned by very eminent collectors. However, there is more to it than this, because the ownership and display of works associated with Sir William would have also demonstrated that the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale had the taste and the resources to restore major “Hamilton” items to Hamilton ownership and was – visibly – the dynamic, effective head of the House of Hamilton.

At this point in his life, Douglas was content to draw on the achievements of Sir William and enjoy the benefits of “reflected glory”, or glory by association. Later, as 10th Duke, he would employ other Hamiltons to design the new addition to Hamilton Palace, make important acquisitions and generally further his interests. Douglas’s activities in 1810 are therefore the first clear signs of a definite pattern or policy of using the extended Hamilton family to promote both the head of the House of Hamilton and the House or Clan of Hamilton.

Marriage to Susan Beckford on 26 April 1810 did not calm Douglas down, but fuelled his desire to demonstrate his taste and status.

On 14 March 1811 Rundell’s supplied him with “A very fine Emerald” costing £630.²² This seems to have been an “upgrade” of the £150 emerald bought the month before his wedding, which was returned to the goldsmiths the following year, and connected with the birth of Douglas’s son and heir, William, a month before, on 19 February.²³ One might have expected the emerald to have been a “thank you present” to Susan, but Douglas’s own love of rings and the return of the £150 emerald raise a question mark. The next entry on the invoice, under 17 May 1811 – “Setting your Lordships Emerald in a Ring to open, with Brilliants round, and

²⁰ Haynes 1975, pp.9-10.

²¹ Anson 1925, pp.154-8.

²² HA, M12/5/18.

²³ The emerald supplied in March 1810 was returned to Rundell’s in 1812. It was described as “A large long square Emerald” and Douglas was credited with £130 for it on 15 February 1812: see HA, M12/5/19, copy of invoice from Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to the Marquis of Douglas for 1808-18.

at the Sides, with diamond shank as the pattern [£]47²⁴ – does not resolve the identity of the intended wearer, but underlines the importance of the piece.

On 17 May Douglas also obtained “A very curious opal Brilliant” worth £63, which was set “in plain gold for a Ring” for another £1 18 shillings;²⁵ and on 27 June Rundell’s furnished him with an even more obvious status symbol: a massive silver inkstand weighing over 48 ounces, with gadrooned decoration, costing £33.²⁶

Mobilising the Collection

Many alterations and improvements followed Douglas’s and Susan’s marriage. These included alterations to the interior and exterior of Hamilton Palace by the architect James Gillespie, the improvement of the interiors by the wrights Gavin and John Rowat and the supply of black marble chimneypieces, tables and other items by David Hamilton and Company;²⁷ but the most interesting development and the one with the most far-reaching consequences in the short term was the rehanging of paintings in Hamilton Palace. We can glean that this took place from Louis Simond’s remark that when he visited the palace on or around 22 August 1810, Poussin’s *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* was hanging “By the side of” Rubens’s *Daniel in the Lions’ Den* (National Gallery of Art, Washington) and with “Several excellent Portraits by Vandyke”.²⁸ This would mean that the Poussin was displayed in the Gallery, where the Rubens and Van Dycks had hung since the seventeenth century. Yet, a year later, the *Lamentation* was one of the two principal paintings in the Drawing Room in the State Rooms, on the first floor of the west wing.²⁹ The inclusion of the two paintings of the Empress Catherine the Great,

²⁴ HA, M12/5/18.

²⁵ HA, M12/5/18 and M12/5/19.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ For many of these improvements, see HTHL, Hamilton Estate Vouchers and Accounts, Bundle 20/6. It is extremely interesting to find that, as early as 1810, David Hamilton and Company supplied Douglas with ‘A full Black Marble Chimney Piece with a Black Marble Hearth and Covings for Drawing Room’, black marble pieces for a ‘Chimney Piece in Dining Room’, ‘Six Black Marble Tables for the Gallery’, ‘2 Black marble Chimney pieces for bed rooms’, and other black marble parts: see Bundle 20/6, bill from David Hamilton and Company to the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, dated 1 August 1810, and Bundle 23, bill from Gavin and John Rowat to the 9th Duke of Hamilton for work carried out in 1810. This seems to be an unparalleled amount of black marble for this period and a particularly revealing indicator of Douglas’s high opinion of his own status and of the scale of aggrandisement in the palace and policies around 1809-10.

²⁸ Simond 1815, I, pp.280-2.

²⁹ Appendix 2, 62.

discussed in the last chapter, on the 1811 inventory,³⁰ and the taking of the inventory itself in 1811, corroborate the deduction that a re-hang had taken place in the wake of all the restoration and improvements.

The 1811 inventory shows Douglas making very effective use of the old Hamilton collection and the paintings acquired by his father and himself and focusing attention on the newly introduced works.

Visitors to the palace were immediately impressed and intimidated, as they climbed the main staircase, by three huge paintings: *The Expulsion of the Unwanted Guest* by Fra Semplice da Verona, which had been acquired from King Charles I by the 1st Duke of Hamilton and had hung in the “Crimson Room” in the 1790s;³¹ the altarpiece of the *Madonna and Child with Saints* by Girolamo dai Libri, bought by Douglas in 1800;³² and a scene of stag hunting attributed to Frans Snyders.³³ A smaller painting of the *Circumcision of Christ* ascribed to Giulio Romano³⁴ reinforced the awesome and, indeed, frightening effect.

The pre-eminent pictures in the historic Hamilton collection – Rubens’s *Daniel in the Lions’ Den* and the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century full-length portraits by Van Dyck, Mytens, Kneller and others – continued to be displayed in the Gallery,³⁵ but the connecting rooms in the west wing were largely given over to works acquired by the 9th Duke and Douglas.

The first half-panelled room, the Breakfast Room, contained twenty-five paintings. Douglas’s recent acquisition, *The Circumcision of Christ* by Signorelli (Fig.8), was on the short wall to the right of the entrance.³⁶ Almost all the other paintings were on the next wall, opposite the two windows. The dense “hang” was based on two large paintings: the *Resurrection of Christ* by Tintoretto and his workshop, then assigned to Giorgione (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) (Fig.18),³⁷ on

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 44 and 130.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1.

³² *Ibid.*, 4.

³³ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 5-32.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 48.

the left, and a *Triumph of David* (Fig.19), attributed to Domenichino³⁸ but by another as yet unidentified contemporary Italian artist, on the right.

Most of the smaller pictures were Flemish or Dutch. There were no fewer than three oil sketches ascribed to Rubens. "Germanicus haranguing his Soldiers" was either the *modello* of *Decius Mus addressing the Legions* now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (Fig.20) or a closely related work.³⁹ "Resurrection (a sketch)" (Fig.21) was a study for the painting of *Christ Triumphant over Sin and Death* that used to hang over the tomb of Jeremias Cock in St Walburga, Antwerp,⁴⁰ while "Battle (a sketch)" (now in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne) (Fig.22) was the *modello* for the unfinished painting of *The Battle of Ivry*.⁴¹ A "Cattle piece [by] Berghem"⁴² was probably *The Ford* by Berghem, signed and dated 1654, in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.⁴³ The "Landscape [by] Hobbens" was the signed Hobbema *Landscape with a Water-mill* now at Elton Hall, near Peterborough (Fig.23).⁴⁴

The only other Italian painting that stands out is the very fine *Portrait of a Young Man* signed by the rare Venetian painter Alessandro Oliverio (National Gallery of Ireland) (Fig.24), which was described as "Duke of Olivares [by] Leonard de Vinci".⁴⁵ However, a "Portrait" may have been the Venetian Admiral belonging to the Contarini family, now attributed to Veronese, in Philadelphia Museum of Art.⁴⁶

The next room, the Drawing Room, contained sixteen pictures. A large "Queen of Sheba before Solomon" attributed to Tintoretto hung on the short wall to the right of the entrance.⁴⁷ Two outstanding additions were given pride of place on the main wall opposite the windows. First came Poussin's late masterpiece *The Lamentation over the Dead Christ* (Fig.25).⁴⁸ Further along on the left was "Jacob and his Flock [by] Bassan",⁴⁹ which can now be identified as *The Departure of Abraham for Canaan* by Jacopo Bassano and his son Francesco (National Gallery of

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 37.

⁴³ 1882 HPS, lot 38.

⁴⁴ Appendix 2, 45.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 67.

Canada, Ottawa) (Fig.26).⁵⁰ They were cleverly deployed to surprise visitors with a rise in quality after the already high standard in the first room, and to carry them through the next room in a buoyant mood.

The *Lamentation* and *Departure* were supported by *The Martyrdom of St Sebastian* by Guido Reni (Auckland Art Gallery) (Fig.27)⁵¹ and the full-length portrait of *King Edward VI* then ascribed to Holbein and now attributed to his successor, William Scrots (Hampton Court) (Fig.28).⁵² Smaller works of note included “*Neptune & Amphitrite* [by] Rubens”,⁵³ which was the oil sketch for a basin decorated with the birth of Venus by Rubens, with Neptune and Amphitrite at the top (National Gallery, London) (Fig.29),⁵⁴ and the *Sibyl* by Guercino subsequently owned by Sir Denis Mahon (Art Fund) (Fig.30).⁵⁵

The third room, the State Bed Room, contained eight works, including an “*Entombing of Christ*” ascribed to Titian⁵⁶ and a “*Christ in the Garden*” optimistically attributed to Michelangelo.⁵⁷ A large painting of the “*Prince of Guelders menacing his Father* [by] Rembrant”⁵⁸ was an old copy of Rembrandt’s *Samson threatening his Father-in-Law* in Berlin.⁵⁹ By today’s estimation, the main painting in the room was probably the “*Portrait* [by] Georgione”,⁶⁰ which seems to

⁵⁰ This is the most exciting “discovery” made during this exercise. The work is listed as “*The Creation* [by] Bassan” on the inventory inscribed “*Archibald Duke of Hamilton*” (Appendix 1, number 7) and as “*Jacob and his Flock* [by] Bassan” on the 1811 inventory. It appears as “*Jacob and his Flock* [by] Bassan”, valued at £200, in the same room, the Drawing Room, on the 1825 and 1835 inventories (HA, M4/70, p.169; HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.165) and was recorded by Waagen in 1851, in the “*Second Room*” (the Drawing Room), as: “*Giacomo Bassano. – 1. The Almighty appearing to Noah after the Deluge [...]*” (Waagen 1854, III, p.301). The picture was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 763) as “*G. Bassano. Jacob’s Vision. 8 ft. 5 in. by 6 ft. 3 in.*” and came up again at Sotheby’s on 2 December 1964 (lot 97) as “*Jacopo Bassano. God showing Moses the Promised Land*”, with dimensions of 75 x 100 inches. Alessandro Ballarin discussed the painting itself when it was in a private collection in Montreal. He renamed it *The Departure of Abraham to Canaan*, attributed it to Jacopo and Francesco Bassano, and dated it c.1569 and later c.1570-71. See Appendix 2, number 67, for further details and discussion.

⁵¹ Appendix 2, 71.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 73.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁵⁴ Like many entries, this is the first clear reference to a work in the Hamilton Palace collection (and, indeed, in Britain). It is almost twenty years earlier than John Smith’s note of the sketch in the collection (Smith 1830, p.250, no.848). It is possible that the *Birth of Venus* is “*An historical Sketch. Circular. [By] Rubens*” on the “*Archibald Duke of Hamilton*” inventory (Appendix 1, 8).

⁵⁵ Appendix 2, 59 and 63.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁵⁹ Bredius/Gerson 1971, p.412 (Br.499).

⁶⁰ Appendix 2, 82.

equate to the full-length portrait of a *Man in Armour*, now attributed to the young Veronese, sold from the Field Collection in 1991.⁶¹

The First Dressing Room contained seventeen pictures, including the *Coronation of the Virgin* by Bartolomeo Schedoni,⁶² which was acquired by the American painter John Trumbull and sold at Christie's on 17 February 1797⁶³ (Art Fund) (Fig.31), and the *Flight into Egypt* by Paul Potter,⁶⁴ that seems to be the work, signed and dated 1644, advertised by the Newhouse Galleries, New York, in 1968.⁶⁵

Douglas appears to have filled the last room in the State Apartments in the west wing with pictures from the old Hamilton collection. He concentrated his father's and his own remaining works in the Billiard Room,⁶⁶ placed two others in a "Drawing Room"⁶⁷ with thirty-seven miniatures from the old collection,⁶⁸ and decorated the last two rooms on the inventory, a "Dressing Room" and a "Bed Closet", with items mainly from the old collection.⁶⁹

The twenty-one pictures in the Billiard Room include many fine and unexpected works. "Eeres & Autumn [by] And. Montigna"⁷⁰ were the *Vestal Virgin Tuccia with Sieve* and *Sophonisba drinking Poison* by Mantegna (National Gallery, London) (Fig.32),⁷¹ while "Lewis Carnaro"⁷² obscures *St Jerome as Cardinal* by El Greco (National Gallery, London) (Fig.33), which used to bear the inscription "L.

⁶¹ Christie's, *Important Old Master Pictures from the Frederick W. Field Collection*, London, 5 July 1991, lot 4.

⁶² Appendix 2, 88.

⁶³ Christie, *A Catalogue of A most Superb and Distinguished Collection of Italian, French, Flemish, and Dutch Pictures, A Selection formed with peculiar Taste and Judgement by John Trumbull, Esq. during his late residence in Paris, from some of the most Celebrated Cabinets in France*, London, 17 February 1797, lot 37.

⁶⁴ Appendix 2, 92.

⁶⁵ This painting, which is also listed on the "Archibald Duke of Hamilton" inventory (Appendix 1, 76), was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 1011) as "Paul Potter. A Landscape, with the flight into Egypt. 18 in. by 24 in." The Newhouse Galleries's painting was advertised in *The Connoisseur* in 1968 (photograph in the Getty Research Institute) and apparently measures 47 x 63.5 cm., or 18½ x 25 inches. It was previously included in a Fischer sale in Lucerne, 13-17 June 1950 (lot 2460).

⁶⁶ Appendix 2, 109-129.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 130-131.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 132-168.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 169-190.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 110. The writer of the inventory should, of course, have written Ceres.

⁷¹ Both works are listed on the "Archibald Duke of Hamilton" inventory as "A Pair of the Seasons [by] Montegna" (Appendix 1, 13). These are the earliest references to these paintings in Britain found to date.

⁷² Appendix 2, 113.

CORNARO / Aet suae 100 1566" on the book.⁷³ "The Descent from the Cross (a sketch) [by] Rubens"⁷⁴ was the *modello* for the high altarpiece of the Church of the Capuchins in Lille (both now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille) (Fig.34).⁷⁵ "Henrietta Lotharinga Princess of Psabburgh [by] Vandyke"⁷⁶ is immediately recognisable as Van Dyck's full-length portrait of Henrietta of Lorraine, Princess of Pfalzburg and Lixheim, from the collection of the duc d'Orléans (now at Kenwood) (Fig.35).⁷⁷

Finally, we may note that the two paintings in the "Drawing Room" towards the end of the inventory consisted of Tintoretto's *Moses striking the Rock* (Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt) (Fig.36) and the second of Douglas's portraits of Catherine the Great.⁷⁸

Bringing the Collection up to date: The David and Raeburn Commissions

What emerges from the 1811 inventory, when read in conjunction with the 1759 and 1793 Hamilton Palace inventories⁷⁹ and the inventory annotated "Archibald Duke of Hamilton", is that Douglas had a very large collection of Old Master paintings, which included many important and interesting works, and that he did not need to buy pre-1800 pictures as a priority.

The striking deficiency exposed by the 1811 inventory is the dearth of recent and contemporary art. Indeed, only two such works – a "Landscape [by] Gainsborough" and a sketch of "Hercules" by Sir Joshua Reynolds – are listed among the 9th Duke's and Douglas's paintings on the 1811 inventory.⁸⁰ There were

⁷³ This entry, together with the listings in the 1825, 1835 and 1853 Hamilton Palace inventories noted in Appendix 2, 113, totally contradict the old belief that this painting was acquired by the 11th Duke of Hamilton from the Thirlestane House sale on 28 July 1859 (lot 237): see MacLaren/Braham 1988, p.35.

⁷⁴ Appendix 2, 128.

⁷⁵ The entries in the 1811, 1825 and 1835 Hamilton inventories (see Appendix 2, 128) clearly demonstrate that the sketch is not the work included in Christie's William Wilkins sale, 7 April 1838 (lot 6), as suggested, with a question mark, by Richard Judson (Judson 2000, p.194).

⁷⁶ Appendix 2, 115.

⁷⁷ The references in the 1811 and 1825 inventories, and Samuel Woodburn's letter of 1850 about the acquisition of this work (HA, C4/843A/9), reveal that John Smith was mistaken in believing that *Henrietta* was in the collection of the Earl of Carlisle in the 1820s/early 1830s (Smith 1831, pp.94-5, no.327). The provenances given in Bryant 2003 (p.47) and Barnes *et al* 2004 (pp.329-30) need to be revised.

⁷⁸ Appendix 2, 130-131.

⁷⁹ HA, M4/48 and M4/51 respectively.

⁸⁰ Appendix 2, 96 and 126.

other “modern” paintings – notably Gavin Hamilton’s vast canvas of *Hector’s Farewell to Andromache* (Hunterian Museum, Glasgow), which was commissioned by the 8th Duke of Hamilton during his “Grand Tour” in the mid 1770s,⁸¹ and Anne Forbes’s life-size portrait of the 8th Duke (Lennoxlove), both in the Long Gallery in 1811⁸² – and there were probably more portraits of the 8th Duke by Gavin Hamilton,⁸³ George Garrard⁸⁴ and other artists elsewhere in the palace and at Holyroodhouse.⁸⁵ However, they would have only emphasized the pressing need for Douglas to commission and acquire contemporary portraits and other pictures.

The undertaking of a full-length portrait of Susan Beckford by Thomas Phillips, for Beckford, in 1810⁸⁶ probably led Douglas to think seriously about a full-length portrait of himself, but he evidently decided against a single commission and a solitary portrait. Douglas seems to have reflected on the full-length portraits of his predecessors in the Long Gallery and noted that the portraits of the early Dukes were shown with full-length portraits of *King Charles I on Horseback* after Van Dyck (now at Ardgowan) and *King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden*.⁸⁷ The inclusion of these portraits showed his forebears honouring Charles I for creating the dukedom of Hamilton and Gustavus of Sweden for championing the Protestant cause, and gave explicit visual expression to the sympathies and allegiances of the seventeenth-century Hamiltons.

Douglas may already have owned the state portraits of *King George III* and *Queen Charlotte* by Allan Ramsay (British Government Art Collection and Musée

⁸¹ See the *National Art-Collections Fund Review 1986* (London, 1986), pp.173-4, and Lloyd Williams 1994, p.11.

⁸² Appendix 3, 33 and 30.

⁸³ *National Art Collections Fund Review 2000* (London, 2001), p.117.

⁸⁴ *Treasures from Lennoxlove*, catalogue of the exhibition held at Lyon & Turnbull, Edinburgh, 1-18 August 2006, no.48.

⁸⁵ It is unclear whether the portrait of the 8th Duke by Jean Preud’homme (National Museums Scotland) was in the collection in 1811. It is associated with the portrait in the Northwick sale at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, on 26 July 1859 (lot 81), but this is questionable: see *National Art Collections Fund Review 1992* (London, 1992), pp.148-9.

⁸⁶ Christie, Manson and Woods, *Fine Historical Portraits and Ancient and Modern Pictures, The Property of the Trustees of His Grace the late Duke of Hamilton*, 6 November 1919, lot 41. According to the catalogue entry, the portrait measured 94 x 57 inches and depicted Susan wearing a “dark blue dress, with lace scarf, standing by a table on which is a vase of flowers”.

⁸⁷ Appendix 2, 17 and 24. The portrait of Gustavus Adolphus was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, as lot 79, with an attribution to “Mireveldt” and measurements of 6 feet 9 inches by 3 feet 4 inches, and sold to F. Davis for £320 5s. It may have been presented to the 1st Duke of Hamilton by the King, when the Duke was serving with him in the early 1630s, or by Elizabeth of Bohemia.

du Louvre, Paris, respectively),⁸⁸ which would later be displayed either side of his ambassadorial throne in the Long Gallery.⁸⁹ But, more importantly, as we saw in chapter two, he had a real interest in the Empress Catherine the Great. Two small portraits of the Empress were already on display in Hamilton Palace in 1811, the bronze bust of the Empress after Houdon was awaiting shipment from St Petersburg, and in May 1811 it was announced that the Imperial Tapestry Manufactory had completed the full-length tapestry of the Empress, commissioned by Douglas.⁹⁰

Catherine the Great was unquestionably one of the outstanding rulers during Douglas's early life. Over the course of her enlightened, thirty-four-year reign, Catherine introduced many economic, legal, administrative and educational reforms⁹¹ and expanded the Russian empire into eastern Poland, the Crimea and other lands surrounding the northern shores of the Black Sea. She patronized Falconet, Quarenghi, Cameron and many other artists and architects, transformed St Petersburg and the Imperial residences around the capital, and assembled enormous collections of paintings, cameos and other items by buying over twenty major collections, either *en bloc* or as selected chunks, including Pierre Crozat's and Sir Robert Walpole's collections.⁹² Douglas evidently fully accepted Catherine's importance and decided to "partner" or "pair" the tapestry portrait of the Empress with a portrait of the Emperor Napoleon, the acknowledged "Colossus of the Age".

That Douglas should have acquired a portrait of Napoleon is not really surprising. He was a Whig: Francophile, in agreement with many of the ideals of the French Revolution, determined to see Napoleon as their saviour and continuator, and keen to institute a *rapprochement* between Britain and France. Furthermore, a large portrait of Napoleon would have shown that he was a fully committed Whig and defiantly opposed to the Tories.

The seminal point is that Douglas only wanted the very best in 1811 and was throwing caution to the winds to get it. Britain was at war with France, Napoleon's control over Europe was at its zenith, and the birth of the King of Rome (on 20 March 1811) looked likely to ensure the continuation of the Napoleonic dynasty and

⁸⁸ Smart 1999, pp.90 and 113.

⁸⁹ HTHL, 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory, p.135, as by Lawrence.

⁹⁰ For the latter, see chapter 2, notes 41-43.

⁹¹ For Catherine's reforms, see Madariaga 2002 and Cronin 1996.

⁹² On Catherine as a collector, see Allen and Dukelskaya 1996 and Bondil 2006.

its domination of the Continent. It was definitely not the moment to place an important commission for a portrait of Napoleon, but Douglas went ahead. He could have purchased James Northcote's *Napoleon on Horseback*, of 1800-1 – "as large as life", showing (a young) Napoleon mounted on a rearing white horse, with sword on shoulder⁹³ – which would have complemented *King Charles I on Horseback* and the portrait of himself with his horse, by Raeburn, that we will come to shortly. Northcote's *Napoleon* was on sale by private treaty from the European Museum, in London, from 1808⁹⁴ and was offered at Christie's on 18 February 1809,⁹⁵ as the last lot in the sale, and by Farebrother on 24 May 1811.⁹⁶

Douglas probably rejected Northcote's painting as too out of date, poor and militaristic, but he presumably also knew that it had been executed for the London print-seller John Jeffryes, and exhibited by Jeffryes, the European Museum and the auction houses, and was an over-exposed, stale work, which would have brought little glory to its owner.

Instead, Douglas decided to commission a portrait of Napoleon by Jacques-Louis David, the Emperor's own painter, which would "match" the official tapestry of the Empress Catherine by the Imperial (Russian) Tapestry Manufactory.⁹⁷ The tapestry of the Empress only cost 2,000 roubles (less than £200), but by the time

⁹³ See footnote 95 for the quotation and Simon 1996, p.72, no.370.

⁹⁴ The European Museum, in King Street, St James's Square, tried to sell the painting from 1808 to 1816.

⁹⁵ Christie, *A Catalogue of a Valuable Collection of Original Pictures [...] lately exhibited and so much admired at the European Museum*, 17-18 February 1809, lot 93: "Northcote [...] Portrait of Napoleon Bonaparte on Horseback, as large as life, universally allowed to be the best painted, as well as the most striking likeness, of this extraordinary character."

⁹⁶ Farebrother, *A Catalogue of the Splendid Collection of Original Pictures [...] lately forming the Grand Exhibition at the European Museum*, 23-24 May 1811, lot 117: "NorthcoteNapoleon Bonaparte on Horseback, as large as life, in the Consular Uniform; allowed to be the most striking Likeness of that extraordinary Character". The copy of the sale catalogue in the Getty Research Institute records that the painting was "bought in" at £157 10s. Northcote's *Napoleon* was subsequently included in a Stanley sale on 3 July 1816, as lot 93, with unknown result. It was apparently purchased by a London dealer and had passed to the broker James Burt in Exeter by April 1829 (see Gear 1977, pp.225-8). Northcote's *Napoleon* resurfaced at Sotheby's sale of British paintings held in London on 16 November 1983, as lot 82, with measurements of 272 x 239 cm., and is illustrated in colour in the catalogue.

⁹⁷ The correspondence regarding the commission was published, in edited form, using original and copy letters, by A.A. Tait, as an appendix to his article on "The Duke of Hamilton's Palace" (Tait 1983). During the preparation of this thesis, copies of David's letters to Douglas dated 20 October 1812 and 30 April 1813 and Douglas's draft letter acknowledging the arrival of the painting were found in HA, Bundle 1129. For a discussion of the painting, concentrating on David, see Bordes 2005, pp.113-21.

Douglas came to commission David, in August 1811,⁹⁸ he was prepared to pay a great deal more – in the end, 1,000 guineas⁹⁹ – and to give David *carte blanche* to produce what became *The Emperor Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries* (now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington) (Fig.37).¹⁰⁰

Around this time, Douglas must have commissioned Henry Raeburn to paint a larger full-length portrait of himself (Trustees of the Cowdray Settled Estate), with his horse, which seems to allude to his own participation in the Napoleonic Wars and great events (Fig.38). Writing to Alexander Young, Douglas's lawyer and "man of business", on 8 September 1812, Raeburn records that the "portrait of the Marquisses Horse is not yet finished".¹⁰¹ Raeburn explains that he was being delayed by the lack of instructions about the composition from Douglas: "As I somehow understood that the Marquis himself was to have been painted either on him or standing beside him." Raeburn sounds peeved by the delay, but it is impossible to gauge how many months he had been kept in limbo. Interestingly, the second part of the letter refers to Raeburn's willingness to undertake a portrait of the Marchioness and her son, and the citation of his current charge of 100 guineas for a full-length portrait implies that it was a full-length picture that was under discussion.

Reviewing all the information assembled here, one wonders whether the David and Raeburn commissions were stimulated by the tapestry of the Empress and precipitated by a combination of "momentous times" and the birth of sons and heirs to both Douglas and Napoleon within thirty days of one another. Douglas was clearly enjoying himself as a collector and patron, but it seems reasonable to think that the birth of his son affected him and that he was keen to pass on his admiration of Catherine and Napoleon to his heir, William, and future generations of his family.

⁹⁸ David mentions that the letter Douglas wrote to him, which was handed to him by the painter-dealer Bonnemaïson, was dated 3 August [1811]: see HA, Bundle 768, third copy of letter from David to Douglas, dated 8 May 1812.

⁹⁹ Writing to Douglas on 25 September 1811, Bonnemaïson says that "David did not wish to discuss a price", but that he had made enquiries and found that "he is usually paid 20-24,000 francs" for a full-length portrait (HA, Bundle 768). In his letter of 22 June 1812, written after he had completed the portrait, David asked for 1,000 guineas: "Your Lordship wishes me to price the work; I do so out of respect, and the sum of a thousand guineas was what I had quoted to Mr John David, in the event of your asking. It is what I have always received for this type of work [...]" (Bundle 768).

¹⁰⁰ See David's first letter to Douglas, demonstrating this point, printed at the end of Appendix 8.

¹⁰¹ *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 31, 1962, p.173. All the letters relating to Raeburn discovered to date are in Appendix 8.

Financial Problems and Retrenchment

Unfortunately, Douglas's expensive patronage and collecting increased his financial problems. An aide-memoire, written in his own hand,¹⁰² reveals that his gross income in 1810 came to only £34,189¹⁰³ and that over £18,000 of this disappeared in annuities to his brother, sisters and Lady Exeter, the divorced wife of the 8th Duke (£6,000), and the payment of interest (£2,500), taxes (£4,500), factors and agents (£3,000) and stipends (£2,100). A further £9,857 was swallowed up on "Improvements" to the estate, while £3,835 was "spent at Hamilton". Once "Sundries" of £600 had been deducted, only £1,797 was "clear".

By 1812, the situation had worsened and was being exacerbated by Douglas's decision to buy old houses in the vicinity of Hamilton Palace.¹⁰⁴ Alexander Young was becoming increasingly concerned about the prompt half-yearly payments of the annuities to Douglas's brother and sisters,¹⁰⁵ and worried about the withdrawal of £8,000 in loans from Guernsey¹⁰⁶ and the probable need to find funds to pay parties associated with the purchase of lands on Arran from the Marquess of Bute.¹⁰⁷

Douglas's financial embarrassment is reflected in an irate letter from his Russian banker, Baron Rall, dated 16 August 1812. Rall had provided large sums to Count Walicky to use on Douglas's behalf and had just learnt from Harman and Company that Douglas was now querying the arrangement with Walicky and his own payments to Rall. Rall was surprised "to an high degree & in a very disagreeable manner" and vented his annoyance in very forthright terms:

My name being inserted in the bond, is a clear proof that it was not a secret for me & surely since I was to receive the funds, I was fully authorized tho think it as good as security as could be, for the advances which Count Walicky requested upon it, trusting as I did to the honor of your Lordship & to the sacredness of your word & signature. My advances to Count Walicky on this bond being considerable & lying heavy on me, I very naturally wished to receive the interests which your Lordship had engaged to remit annually & if possible a part of the Capital. The latter I know I cannot demand but the interests which are due & which ought to be remitted either to

¹⁰² HA, F2/1042/27, note about income in 1810 written by Douglas.

¹⁰³ According to the note, £22,381 came from the Hamilton estates, £6,566 from Arran and £5,242 from Kinneil.

¹⁰⁴ See HA, Bundle 1581, Young to Brown, 16 September 1812.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, Young to Brown, 25 September 1812.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Young to Brown, 15 September 1812.

¹⁰⁷ See HA, Bundle 1602, Roger Aytoun to Brown, 26 October 1813.

Count Walicky or to me, I had a right to consider as money which must come in at a moments warning. Your Lordship surely could not expect me to take a voyage to England merely for the purpose of settling this affair & I committed no indiscretion whatever in entrusting it to Messrs. Harman, whose integrity, honor & altogether unexceptionable character are sure warrants of their keeping it a secret for the whole world if you desire it. The affair, therefore, cannot by any means, be said to have been made public, and, in no point of view, whatsoever, can you, My Lord, have a right to disclaim your bond, because it has gone through the regular course of business, & I cannot conceive any reason that could justify your retracting a positive engagement with your signature; especially when your Lordship considers that my high opinion of your honor & punctuality has enduced me to advance upon it a sum of fifty eight thousand Rubles, which makes much more than the Capital at the present course of exchange. I trust that a moments reflection will have brought your Lordship to a more equitable determination & that you will have paid at least the interests already due to Messrs Harman & Co. for my account.¹⁰⁸

Rall was not the only person annoyed with Douglas at this time. Alexander Young was also fed up with his client. Writing to Robert Brown, the new principal factor who had begun employment on Whitsunday 1812, Young commented with considerable candour on 25 September:

It is but too obvious that the detail of Improvements, and the management of old houses and Excambions about Hamilton Palace will consume a great part of your time, and prevent you from rendering the Marquis those essential Services which you are qualified to perform for him, human life is too short for the execution of plans of every kind, I have great doubts if any thing that is done or projected at Hamilton Palace be really an improvement, but granting it were, the Marquis would act wisely if he were to prefer the utile to the dulce; I am sick of writing or thinking on the Subject and Shall only say that if you do not succeed in diverting his Lordships attention from trifles to matters of importance your best talents and exertions will avail him nothing.¹⁰⁹

By this date, Douglas's debts apparently came to around £90,000,¹¹⁰ and even Douglas seems to have recognized that he could not continue in such a profligate manner. During an earlier meeting, he had given Young "such a picture of the state

¹⁰⁸ HA, Bundle 1006, "Duplicate" of letter from Rall to Douglas, 16 August 1812.

¹⁰⁹ HA, Bundle 1581, Young to Brown, 25 September 1812.

¹¹⁰ HA, Bundle 1767, draft letter Brown to Young, 26 November 1820: "In the year 1812 The Dukes debts were about £90,000".

of his finances” that even the stern-hearted lawyer “could not avoid sending him any money which I had at my command”, and had sent him an order for £800.¹¹¹

Douglas did not stop buying items, but his really expensive purchasing seems to have ground to a halt, at least for a few years. He had already returned the emerald and the pair of candelabra acquired from Rundell’s in March 1810 and been credited with £130 for the ring on 15 February 1812 and £256 10s 6d for the candelabra on 6 March 1812. His major acquisitions from the goldsmiths end with the purchase of “An Enamelled foot of a very richly chased gold Custodia”, weighing over 38 ounces and costing £241 18s 6d, on 17 July 1812.¹¹² From then on, money that would previously have gone on new purchases was used, instead, to reduce Rundell’s bill, which stood at almost £7,500 in August 1812.¹¹³ By the summer of 1815, payments of £500 in September 1812, £1,000 in May 1814 and £2,000 in March and July 1815 had almost halved the debt to £3,982 5s 11d, plus interest.¹¹⁴

Success and Failure as an Early Patron

Douglas’s first major act of patronage resulted in David’s brilliant propaganda painting of *The Emperor Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries*, working early into the morning on the *Code Napoléon* for the benefit of France and Western civilization. Douglas was delighted with the portrait – as well he should. In an unpublished draft letter, in French, he informed the painter:

I must tell you of my arrival in London and the pleasure I felt in finding there the portrait you had the kindness to make for me of your Emperor. ~~I am extremely pleased with it~~ It arrived in the best possible condition, not a stain or a scratch _ It seems just out of the artist’s hands, without having suffered the perils of the sea and long journey. I have great pleasure and pride in showing it to our English artists, especially Mr West.

¹¹¹ HA, Bundle 1581, Young to Brown, 6 September 1812.

¹¹² HA, M12/5/19.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* A debt of £7,897 11s 5d offset by returned items and a “trade-in” credited at £418 14s 6d.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* Interest was definitely being charged in this period: see HA, Bundle 1629, Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to Brown, 5 December 1814, referring to “additional Interest to this day” of £112 5s 3d. John Bridge, one of the partners at Rundell’s, was renown for his diplomacy and his polite persistence in getting payment is clearly evident in the firm’s letters in Appendix 6. In November 1815 Douglas must have tried to return the “large Onyx and the Emerald” he had acquired from the firm, but they declined to credit him with the £1,500 he was wanting: see HA, Bundle 1649, Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to Brown, 21 November 1815.

If you could have heard their observations you would have been very pleased.¹¹⁵

The portrait of Napoleon seems to have been regarded as such a high-profile success, and such a credit to Douglas, that it was kept in London. Douglas's letter establishes that it was definitely on display in London – presumably in the Grosvenor Place house – in 1813, and it seems likely that it is the first entry – “My N _ picture” – on the list of items that Douglas left in the “Church room” on 7 August 1816 before departing for Italy.¹¹⁶

Unfortunately, the portrait of Douglas by Scotland's leading portrait painter was very far from a success. Indeed, as far as Douglas was concerned, it was a failure, if not a disaster. This, though, was in large measure due to Douglas himself. As we have already observed, David's letters clearly record that he had been given a free hand over the treatment of *Napoleon*. However, such a lack of direction can cause real difficulties and Raeburn seems to have been left struggling without adequate instructions and with a patron who had spoken about two very different compositions. Raeburn's letter to Young of 8 September 1812 refers directly to the lack of a clear brief and highlights the unresolved problem: “My portrait of the Marquisses Horse is not yet finished. As I somehow understood that the Marquis himself was to have been painted either on him or standing beside him.”¹¹⁷

The composition may never have been sorted out to Douglas's satisfaction and he may have found Raeburn's treatment too “broad” and at variance with the meticulous finish of David's *Napoleon*. Whatever the reason or reasons, Douglas seems to have taken an aversion to the Raeburn portrait and refused to cooperate in its completion. A letter from Raeburn's son dated 16 January 1824 states categorically that he failed to attend all the necessary sittings and that Raeburn only completed the work – on his own initiative, and with the exception of the buttons on Douglas's coat – in the spring of 1823 (shortly before his death on 8 July):

¹¹⁵ HA, Bundle 1129, draft letter Douglas to David, undated but almost certainly a draft of his letter to David of 31 March 1813. This is referred to in David's letter of 30 April 1813 (in which the draft was found) and David's letter of 30 April, which thanks Douglas for confirming the safe delivery of the portrait and for his praises, is a natural and logical response to it (see Tait 1983, p.402, no.11). Not surprisingly, Douglas declined in the draft, in a very round about way, to pay David the shortfall between the 18,650 francs he had received in exchange for the 1,000 guineas and the 25,000 francs he had been expecting. For the correspondence over the payment, see the end of Appendix 8.

¹¹⁶ HA, F2/1040, notebook used by Douglas in 1816, unpaginated.

¹¹⁷ *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 31, 1962, p.173.

That the Portrait was not finished 9 or 10 years ago, was not owing to my Father, he did not touch it for many years in expectation of his Grace sitting again, but seeing no likelihood of that, he at length determined to finish it, & accordingly, [...] in the Course of last Spring, brought it to its present state, with the trifling exception explained of 8th ult[im]a _¹¹⁸

The breakage of the Russian mirrors during shipment in 1812-13 and the failure to obtain a really good full-length portrait of himself seem to have dispirited Douglas, and he ended up placing both the tapestry of the Empress Catherine and the parquet floor supplied by Booker into storage.¹¹⁹ The tapestry was probably sullied – at least in the short term – by association with Baron Rall and Rall’s aspersions on his honour. Nonetheless, it is surprising and worrying that Douglas seems to have displayed the David in comparative isolation. Even if he did not have a satisfactory portrait of himself, he could have shown the portraits of Catherine and Napoleon in close proximity, with other Russian and recently acquired “contemporary” items, to visual and personal advantage. He was content to stockpile for the future and this indicates a lack of imagination and initiative.

Douglas returns to the cheaper pursuit of collecting Manuscripts

During 1813 and early 1814 Douglas recovered from these setbacks and also from the anxiety, problems and distractions associated with his wife’s poor health following the births of their two children. His return to ambitious collecting is discernible in a letter from R.P. Knight, written around 20 July 1814, which enclosed a “Specimen of Palaeography to console you for the disappointment of the Mss Iliad”.¹²⁰ Knight was referring to one of the main lots in the sale of the library of the late John Towneley, held in June 1814,¹²¹ and it is evident that Douglas was annoyed

¹¹⁸ HA, M4/55, Raeburn to Brown, 16 January 1824. Raeburn’s letter of 8 December 1823 has not been found, but “the trifling exception” is explained by H.D. Dickie’s letter to the 10th Duke, dated 28 October 1823 (HA, M4/55), which records that Sir Henry had finished the portrait “with the exception of the Buttons, on the Coat”. Both letters are in Appendix 8.

¹¹⁹ The 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory records the “Russian Flooring” and “Russian Tapestry”, the latter valued at £60, in the “Room above Back Kitchen”: HA, M4/70, p.137.

¹²⁰ HA, Bundle 1004, Knight to Douglas, franked 20 July [1814].

¹²¹ R.H. Evans, *Bibliotheca Towneleiana. A Catalogue of the Curious and Extensive Library of the late John Towneley, Esq.*, 8-15 June, 1814, lot 884. The 40-line catalogue entry ends: “The purchaser of this inestimable treasure will be congratulated by future critics and bibliographers on the acquisition of the BEST MANUSCRIPT OF THE NOBLEST OF POETS.” John Towneley was the uncle of Charles Townley (d.1805), the owner of the Townley Marbles now in the British Museum.

that Dr Charles Burney had purchased the *Iliad* (now British Library, Burney Ms 86) for £620.¹²² It was obviously something that he coveted but had failed to buy because of lack of funds. Knight could not understand Douglas's preoccupation with the manuscript, which dates from the thirteenth century and contains numerous glosses and scholia.¹²³ He thought his gift

the most trifling Consolation sufficient: for after all [the Towneley *Iliad*] is a mere Rarity or Curiosity, which has no Excellence or even Peculiarity of Art to recommend it; nor any Information to bestow after having been once carefully collated. It is, however, an Object for a public Library, where learned Men may refer to it [...]¹²⁴

But Knight had failed to appreciate that Douglas had a long-standing desire to acquire an early example of Homer and was trying to assemble a very comprehensive, scholarly library, even if he did not intend to study the texts in detail himself. Douglas's prior interest in Homer is mirrored in a letter from Count Wallmark, dated Stockholm, 25 October 1808, which begins "Enfin j'ai l'honneur de Vous faire passer l'Homère" and goes on to give likely auction prices of 300 to 450 *livres* for a complete Homer, with an average price of 375 *livres*, and half that – 188 *livres* – for the *Odyssey*.¹²⁵

Douglas had much more success in 1815. A very well-annotated sale catalogue in the Bodleian Library¹²⁶ reveals that he bought four manuscripts – lots 310, 798, 822 and 824 – in his own name, at the sale of the library of his old dealer and mentor James Edwards in April 1815. They comprised the French ninth-century *Gospels*, Berlin, Hamilton 248;¹²⁷ the Greek-Latin *Psalter*, Berlin, Hamilton 552,¹²⁸ written in Milan in the second half of the ninth century; Prudentius, *Carmina*, Berlin, Hamilton 542,¹²⁹ produced in St Gallen in the late ninth century; and the Koran,

¹²² The price of £620 is recorded in many annotated sale-catalogues (e.g. Bodleian Library, Douce CC. 294 (3), Mus. Bibl. III. 8° 468, and Mus. Bibl. III. 8° 665).

¹²³ Forshall 1840, pp. iv and 37, and British Library 1985, p. 348.

¹²⁴ HA, Bundle 1004, Knight to Douglas, franked 20 July [1814].

¹²⁵ HA, Bundle 928, Wallmark to Douglas, 25 October 1808.

¹²⁶ Bod, Hanson 115.

¹²⁷ Boese, pp. 119–20; Appendix 3, 37.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 269–70; Appendix 3, 58.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 261–2; Appendix 3, 57.

Berlin, Hamilton 378.¹³⁰ The prices of £57 15s, £110 5s, £23 2s and £52 10s respectively amounted to £243 12 shillings.

Douglas subsequently acquired two other manuscripts in the Edwards sale.¹³¹ The Reverend T.F. Dibdin, the secretary of the Roxburghe Club, had bought Horace's *Odes* (now Berlin, MS 78 D 14),¹³² which was probably written in Naples by Gianrinaldo Mennio of Sorrento and illuminated by Giovanni Todeschino around 1490-95, in order to make a facsimile of one of the details. Once this had been done, Dibdin sold the *Odes* to Douglas for £125 – the same price he had paid for them at the Edwards sale.¹³³

Douglas also succeeded in securing the Byzantine Greek *Gospels* of about 1125-50 AD, now in the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 244),¹³⁴ which Payne had bought at the Edwards sale for £210.¹³⁵ This was more than double what Douglas had paid for his most expensive purchase at the auction and suggests that he came to appreciate the unique importance of this manuscript – which is the only Byzantine manuscript to have been written, illuminated and donated by the same individual (the monk Theophanes) and also has a self-portrait of the writer-illuminator – and that he went out of his way, and well passed his normal price range, in order to own this exceptional work.

Many more manuscripts flowed in after the Edwards sale, notably from the Parisian bookseller Charles Chardin. A list of “manuscrits de la Bibliotheque de Mons^r M^cCarthy” in Douglas's own handwriting¹³⁶ and Chardin's bill for “Les Livres suivant a la vente macarty”¹³⁷ reveal that Douglas bought lots 455, 2541, 2814, 3955, 4455 and 5475 from the very large and highly regarded collection of the Comte MacCarthy Reagh for 933 francs.¹³⁸

¹³⁰ For a description and comment, see Sotheby's 1882 *Catalogue of the Hamilton Collection of Manuscripts*, under 378; Appendix 3, 44.

¹³¹ Lots 263 and 821.

¹³² Formerly Hamilton 334. Boese, pp.163-4; Appendix 3, 41.

¹³³ Dibdin 1817, I, p.cxiv, with the detail reproduced on the opposite page.

¹³⁴ On the manuscript itself, see Manion 2005, pp.22-97; Appendix 3, 36.

¹³⁵ Bod, Hanson 115, lot 821.

¹³⁶ HA, M12/30/15, undated list of manuscripts in the MacCarthy Reagh sale, written by the Marquis of Douglas on paper without a watermark (see Appendix 4).

¹³⁷ HA, M12/30/14, list of manuscripts purchased from Chardin by the Marquis of Douglas (see Appendix 4).

¹³⁸ The MacCarthy Reagh catalogue entries, confirming the “matches” of the lots with the Hamilton manuscripts, are included in a note at the end of Appendix 4.

The selection was even more serious and “specialist”, “comprehensive” and “universal”, than before, and smacks of a college or university library, rather than that of a private individual. The new acquisitions included a ninth-century manuscript of the acts of the council of Aquisgranensis or Aachen in 815 (Berlin, Hamilton 31)¹³⁹ and early histories decorated with 149 portraits of kings of France and England (Berlin, Hamilton 527);¹⁴⁰ the *Life of the Virgin* in French verse, with the metrical Bestiary of William the Norman, written in northern France or Ghent around 1323 (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS.20);¹⁴¹ and manuscripts of Leonardo Bruni’s *De Bello Italico adversum Gothos* (Berlin, Hamilton 37),¹⁴² dated 1444 (only three years after its completion), and Virgil’s *Works*, written by Johannes Baptista de Lancis in Rome in 1468 (Berlin, Hamilton 676).¹⁴³ His most pleasing purchase was probably the Roman historian Valerius Maximus’s *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium*, with commentary, owned by the poet Charles, duc d’Orléans (1394-1465) (Berlin, Hamilton 648/I and II).¹⁴⁴ The text (in volume one) had been written by Franciscus Nutis around 1423 and had been given to the Duke by the Bishop of Bayeaux in 1440, while the commentary (in volume two) had been undertaken by Charles’s secretary and completed in 1453.

Chardin’s bill records that Douglas acquired a further six manuscripts and a set of maps “de mon Catalogue Laymonius”, numbered 37, 75, 130, 145, 147, 454 and 468. The two most significant appear to be “145 Breviarum Coleniense”, at 1,200 francs, and “454 Le Beau Mst des blasons”, at 2,400 francs. The latter is probably either Moyer’s *Blason d’Armoires et Berneil de Noblesse* (Hamilton 449),¹⁴⁵ with 326 armorial shields, which was presented to Francis I of France and was later in the Lamoignon collection, or the fifteenth-century armorial of the Knights of the Round Table (Berlin, Hamilton 48),¹⁴⁶ with 1,540 drawings of coats of arms.

¹³⁹ Boese, pp.15-6.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.254-6.

¹⁴¹ Formerly Berlin, Hamilton 273, the manuscript is decorated in the style associated with Jean Pucelle’s Paris workshop: see Wormald and Giles 1966, p.22.

¹⁴² Boese, pp.19-20.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp.324-5.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.316-7.

¹⁴⁵ Sold in 1887 and untraced. For a description, see Sotheby’s 1882 *Catalogue*, under 449.

¹⁴⁶ For a description, see Sotheby’s *Catalogue*, under 48.

The bill does not record when these manuscripts were chosen, but a letter from Chardin to Douglas dated 23 August 1818 refers to both the MacCarthy Reagh acquisitions at 933 francs and the other manuscripts at 3445 francs 10 centimes (including a 25 per cent discount) and gives a total price of 4,401 francs 60 centimes, including packing.¹⁴⁷ It also notes “La caisse est est [sic] partie Le 17 Juillet” and allows us to infer that Douglas probably finalized the selection and purchase during his passage through Paris in July 1818, *en-route* from Italy to England.¹⁴⁸ Chardin received payment of the 4,401 francs 60 centimes on 2 September 1818.¹⁴⁹

A note in French in Douglas’s own handwriting, on paper watermarked “RUSE & TURNERS / 1815”,¹⁵⁰ suggests that around this time Douglas acquired the manuscript of Cicero’s *Letters*, dated 1472, with the initials “FR. VI.” for Francesco Visconti of Milan (Berlin, Hamilton 167),¹⁵¹ which was probably produced for Visconti’s predecessor Galeazzo Maria Sforza (1466-76), and the *Book of Hours of François de Guise*, illuminated about 1420 by followers of the Boucicaut Master and the Master of Egerton 1070 (Chantilly, Ms. 64 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 313, and Chantilly, Ms. 1671)).¹⁵²

A list of manuscripts subsequently annotated “List of My M S S as made by M^r. Clerk – July 1816”¹⁵³ appears to record that most of the manuscripts on Clarke’s list of Douglas’s manuscripts published in *Repertorium Bibliographicum* in 1819 were in Douglas’s possession by July 1816. Thus, if the annotation is correct (which seems likely, given that Douglas set off for Italy the following month and was away for much of the next three years), both the 1472 Cicero and *Hours of François de Guise* had been acquired by July 1816.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁷ HA, Bundle 1000, Chardin to Douglas, 23 August 1818.

¹⁴⁸ See Chapter 4, p.84.

¹⁴⁹ HA, Bundle 660, receipt for money supplied by Laffitte and Company, dated 2 September 1818 and signed “Chardin”.

¹⁵⁰ HA, M12/30/9, note of manuscripts apparently acquired by the Marquis of Douglas between 1815 and 1819.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*: “M. Tullii Ciceronis epistolae avec le chiffre de Ferdinand VI _ la date vide _”. Boese, pp.88-9.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*: “Recueil de prieres mSS sur velin contenant 30 grands miniat et environ 100 petites et plus de 200 sujets satyriques contre la cour de Rome – provient de la bibliotheque de Charles de Lorraine”. Chantilly Ms. 64 is inscribed: “Ce volume appartenait à Charles de Lorraine, duc de Guise, gouverneur et lieutenant général pour le Roy de Provence, admiral des mers du Levant”.

¹⁵³ HTHL, list of manuscripts arranged in shelf order, on paper with the watermarked date 1815.

¹⁵⁴ They are recorded as “Missal[e or l] *Guise* in a Case” and “Ciceronis Epistolæ 1472 crimson velv” [i.e. velvet]. For the 1819 entries on these manuscripts, see Appendix 3, 25 and 49.

The list indicates that by July 1816 Douglas already owned some of his best or most interesting French manuscripts – including *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* and two other allegorical poems by Guillaume de Deguileville, written and illuminated for René I, duc d'Anjou, as a gift for his councillor and chamberlain (Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia, MS 241/2 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 286))¹⁵⁵ and Gace de la Bigne, *Le Roman des Oiseaux*, undertaken for René II of Lorraine at the end of the fifteenth century (Château de Pau (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 392))¹⁵⁶ – and that he had also managed to secure the Missal of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (Berlin, MS 78 D 17) by this date.¹⁵⁷

The 1816 list therefore contains much food for thought. It seems to be an acceptable record that Douglas had acquired most of the manuscripts on Clarke's 1819 list before he set off for the Continent and, therefore, strongly suggests that many of his currently otherwise undocumented acquisitions must have been obtained in Britain. This leads one to think that future research should concentrate on Douglas's other British acquisitions and whether he gradually amassed these manuscripts and early books or purchased them in concentrated periods of activity, with a really large and crucial burst of activity in 1814-16. The research on manuscript and book auctions in London incorporated in Appendix 3 would certainly seem to support the likelihood of further British acquisitions in 1814-16.

As we come to the end of chapter three, we can reflect on a very turbulent period. The first six years saw the commissioning and delivery of the 10th Duke's greatest Napoleonic work, David's *The Emperor Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries*, and the Duke's first real shortcomings as a patron – namely his failure to brief and assist Scotland's leading portrait painter to produce a spectacular “swagger” portrait of himself and to make immediate use of the tapestry portrait of Catherine the Great. Then comes a return to collecting manuscripts and early books, in 1814 to 1818, and Clarke's publication of 1819 and the Hamilton papers reveal the

¹⁵⁵ Described on the July 1816 list as “Pelerinage de la Vie Humaine”; for more information, see Appendix 3, 55, and Tanis 2001, pp.205-7.

¹⁵⁶ Entered on the July 1816 list as “Roman des Oiseaux”; for further details, see Appendix 3, 73, and Sotheby's, *Bibliothèque Marcel Jeanson, Première Partie, Chasse*, Monaco, 1 March 1987, lot 247.

¹⁵⁷ Recorded on the July 1816 list as “Missal[e or l] Medici fam.”; for further details, see Appendix 3, 48, and Reiss 1991.

quality and extent of the Duke's collection by the time of his father's death in February 1819. By this date, the 10th Duke definitely owned the "Golden Gospels", Botticelli's illustrations of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, and the Missal of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, as well as a dozen early medieval manuscripts and over fifty significant Italian and French late medieval and renaissance manuscripts. His collection of early books included copies of Landino's 1481 edition of Dante¹⁵⁸ and a 1528 edition of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, bound by Jean Grolier (now in the Danske Kunstindustrimuseet, Copenhagen).¹⁵⁹

These works formed the foundation and "ground floor" of the Duke's library of manuscripts and books and represent a very considerable achievement.

At the same time, we need to note that Douglas was moving away from a sole interest in Italy and things Italian to a belief that Italian and French manuscripts were of equal importance and that he needed to build up his collection of French fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts. He bought manuscripts from Paris and began to realize that Paris was still, unquestionably, *the* leading maker and supplier of "modern" decorative art in Europe and that he would have to buy and commission French works if he was going to be acknowledged as a great collector and patron. A major "sea change" was underway, and in the end Douglas's fame would rest on his ownership of French manuscripts, furniture and silver, and on his connections with the Bonaparte family, rather than on his purchases of Italian paintings and manuscripts.

¹⁵⁸ Appendix 3, 32.

¹⁵⁹ Zahle 1956, pp.109-12 (illustrated as the frontispiece); Appendix 3, 23.

The 10th Duke of Hamilton's Involvement with Princess Pauline Borghese and His Collecting in Italy, 1816-1825

In August 1816 Douglas and his family left London for Italy. The main reasons seem to have been Susan's poor health and a belief that the beauty and dry heat of southern Italy would help her recovery. However, Douglas was undoubtedly keen to resume collecting in Italy and probably thought that he could save money by living in Naples and even in Rome, where costs were less and he could cut down on his British expenditure. Whatever Douglas's and Susan's initial intentions, the couple ended up spending almost half of the next six years in Italy, mainly in Rome. This chapter examines Douglas's friendship with Napoleon's sister, Princess Pauline Borghese, and his purchases of porphyry, marbles and *pietre dure*, which profoundly affected his life and also the nature of the Hamilton Palace collection.

The Relationship with the Bonapartes, 1817-1819

Douglas, Susan and the children travelled down to Naples, via Paris, Lausanne, Milan, Bologna, Florence and Rome, and "wintered" there between late November 1816 and mid March 1817.¹ Then, duly refreshed, they moved back to Rome, where there was much more to see and do. Almost immediately, Douglas arranged to buy two important items that demonstrated his stature as a serious and wealthy collector. In June 1817 he concluded the purchase of two huge ancient porphyry slabs from San Pancrazio fuori le Mura for 1,600 Roman *scudi* (Fig.39).²

At the same time, Douglas was beginning to mix with Roman high society and forge a relationship with Napoleon's family. Like most men, he would have been primarily interested in the Emperor's once very beautiful and notorious sister, Princess Pauline Borghese (1780-1825), who had separated from her husband Prince Camillo Borghese, but he also cultivated Napoleon's uncle, Cardinal Fesch, and mother, Madame Mère. For their part, the Bonapartes were keen to develop good relationships with top-ranking British aristocrats who might have been able to help

¹ The family's travel itinerary and whereabouts are recorded in Douglas's notes about his banking transactions between 1816 and 1819 (HA, F2/1036).

² The receipt from the "Presidente" of the "Convento", dated "Roma Giugno =1817", is in HA, Bundle 1129. The slabs had probably been used for altars and were being sold to help the restoration of the church. A copy of the seminary's request to sell porphyry and stone and the authorisation, signed by "Card. Braschius de Honestis" and dated 24 July 1807, is in HA, Bundle 1130.

the former Emperor and themselves, and Douglas was soon on good terms with the three principal members of the family living in the Eternal City.

The clearest evidence of this is to be found in Cardinal Fesch's correspondence with Douglas. A letter written in early September 1817 discourages Douglas from visiting the Cardinal at Albano on a day of abstinence, when the food would have been poor, and goes on to discuss Fesch's trip with Madame Mère to Frascati, to recommend that Douglas stays overnight when he comes to Albano (to avoid being waylaid by thieves), and to note the enclosure of a "manuscrit imprimé" from Princess Pauline.³ In November, Fesch sent Susan a crate of Medoc and another of Cassis Blanc "for the oyster season".⁴

Fesch would write many more letters, but there is not such good documentation about the early relationship between Douglas and the two women. Nevertheless, we can piece together a good deal from various sources. The duchesse d'Abrantès (a Corsican and former member of the Napoleonic court who maintained contact with the Bonapartes in Rome) observed that Douglas "was very assiduous in his visits to Madame Mère, who was extremely partial to him".⁵ One reason for this was Douglas's practical help: Baron Larrey (Madame Mère's main nineteenth-century biographer) records that, during one visit, Douglas found that a cook called Chandelier was about to be sent out to St Helena and, "moved by the generous enthusiasm of the new employee, offered him his purse full of gold".⁶ As a result of this and other acts of assistance, Douglas received very preferential treatment. Barry Edward O'Meara (the Royal Navy doctor who looked after the Emperor from August 1815 to July 1818 and was dismissed by the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, for siding with the French) states, in his book on Napoleon first published in 1822: "I believe that the Duke of Hamilton and myself were the only Britons, who had dined at her table."⁷

³ HA, Bundle 769, Fesch to Douglas, 5 September 1817.

⁴ HA, Bundle 955, Fesch to Douglas, 21 November 1817.

⁵ Abrantès 1834, p.7.

⁶ Larrey 1892, II, p.168. Chandelier apparently declined the offer, saying he was going out of devotion to Napoleon not self interest.

⁷ O'Meara 1822, II, p.100.

Douglas was called back to Britain by his brother in May 1818, when it seemed that his father was dying.⁸ He left Rome in late June,⁹ apparently taking a letter from Madame Mère for Napoleon,¹⁰ and seems to have escorted Princess Pauline at least part of the way to the baths at Lucca.¹¹ Douglas was back in London by 23 July.¹² He wrote to Fesch two days later and again on 6 August¹³ and sought information about Napoleon from the British government.¹⁴ Fesch sent a series of letters on 20 August and 5 and 6 September,¹⁵ congratulating him on his father's recovery and assuring him that "Your letter of 25 July gave us much pleasure, your usual friendship is unfailing".¹⁶ The Cardinal ended his last letter: "May all the feelings of your great soul make you always happy and may my wishes assure you of the constancy of my devotion and the truth of my attachment with which I am your very affectionate servant and friend [...]".¹⁷

Douglas must have also written to Madame Mère and she replied:

Your solicitude in writing to me what could alleviate my suffering is worthy of you and reinforces my confidence in the interest you will take later in such a fine enterprise, in spite of distance and the dwindling concern that normally ensues. Your excellent heart would not forget an afflicted mother, to whom you have shown so much kindness.¹⁸

Douglas returned to Italy, via Paris (8 September), and was drawing money from the banker Torlonia in Rome on 13 November 1818.¹⁹

By this stage Douglas was a firm friend and supporter of the Bonaparte family and also a very ardent admirer of Princess Pauline Borghese. The extent of his infatuation is indicated by an anecdote in the duchesse d'Abrantè's short biography of the Princess:

⁸ See HA, Bundle 900, Lord Archibald to Douglas, 22 May 1818.

⁹ HA, F2/1036.

¹⁰ Madame Mère wrote to Napoleon: "I am taking advantage of the departure of the Marquis of Douglas for England, where he is called by a grave illness of his father, the Duke of Hamilton, to give you news of myself and all the family [...] Pauline is leaving today for the spa of Lucca" (Larrey 1892, II, p.176).

¹¹ See footnote 10; Kühn 1937, p.256; and Dixon 1964, p.197.

¹² HA, F2/1036.

¹³ See Fesch to Douglas, 6 7bre 1818 (HA, Bundle 981).

¹⁴ See unidentified writer to Douglas, dated Downing Street, 1 September 1818 (HA, Bundle 775).

¹⁵ HA, Bundle 981, Fesch to Douglas, 6 7bre 1818.

¹⁶ HA, Bundle 1072, Fesch to Douglas, 20 August 1818.

¹⁷ HA, Bundle 981, Fesch to Douglas, 6 7bre 1818.

¹⁸ Larrey 1892, II, pp.186-7

¹⁹ HA, F2/1036.

The Marquis of Do...s was, as everyone knows, madly in love with Princess Pauline and his stay in Rome has given complete certitude to anybody who could have had any doubts. In any case he did not deny it. One day the friend I have just mentioned, the Count of Ch...n, said to the Princess, by whom he was well loved and respected: "How can you receive so many English people, even flatter them and welcome them with so much kindness? Have you therefore forgotten St Helena?"

In an instant the Princess's face changed, and was transformed into a beautiful but most terrible expression. Her teeth chattered and her pale trembling lips could only let out a few words.

"Forget St Helena!" she cried at last. "Forget St Helena! No, no. Have you not seen how much he suffers, this Marquis of D...s, when he is there each morning, standing more than an hour attending my being dressed, handing pins to my women, serving as a court jester, and all this with his cruel rheumatic pains, whilst he thinks of himself as a lover? And in the evening, when I use him as a stool, do you not believe that I think with a kind of joy that I have beneath my feet one of the greatest lords of Great Britain and foremost peers of England? And yet, it is the very sister of the unfortunate prisoner they are assassinating that treats them thus."²⁰

It is an extraordinary passage, but there is no reason to doubt Douglas's foolish behaviour or the way that Pauline reacted to Auguste de Châtillon and extricated herself from the charge of disloyalty to Napoleon.

Douglas's father finally died on 16 February 1819 and he became the 10th Duke of Hamilton, 7th Duke of Brandon and premier peer of Scotland. The 10th Duke began his return home shortly after 20 April and was back in London by 3 June.²¹ While there he was able to help the three Corsicans – the Abbé Antonio Buonavita, the physician Dr Francesco Antommarchi and the Abbé Ange Vignali – who had been sent by Madame Mère and Cardinal Fesch to tend to Napoleon's medical and spiritual needs on St Helena.

Buonavita kept the Duke informed about his dealings with Lord Bathurst (the Colonial Secretary, who was responsible for Napoleon) and Lord Holland (the leading Whig supporter of Napoleon in London) and correspondence with Rome; and the Duke provided him with funds, as well as helping send letters to Italy.²² The Duke

²⁰ Abrantès 1833, pp.194-5.

²¹ HA, F2/1036, Douglas/10th Duke's notes about his banking transactions and expenditure, 1818-19.

²² See HA, Bundle 1072, Buonavita to Duke, 24 June 1819 and 1 July 1819.

gave Buonavita £250 on 1 July and another £100 four days later.²³ A later letter from Fesch indicates that this was at the request of Madame Mère and that she was going to order reimbursement of “350 louis” through Torlonia.²⁴

Another of Fesch’s letters records Princess Pauline’s appreciation of the “friendly care you took of her business in Paris” and an offer the Duke had made, in September, to underwrite Madame Mère and Fesch’s credits for two or three months. According to Fesch, the offer filled all of us “with the most vivid feelings of gratitude”. However, Madame was advised against accepting an arrangement involving the Duke and the “Banquier holmes”, and it was very politely declined: “So you also have done a good deed and are relieved of it all.”²⁵

Italian Purchases, 1817-1819

Over the past two years, the Duke had acquired many items in Rome. A list of pieces made of stone and other materials that were apparently sent to Scotland in January 1819 includes “Un Busto di Marmo Moderno” and “Quattro Vasi di Porcellana di Roma”,²⁶ but the most interesting entries relate to two porphyry tables or table-tops and three marble supports and a large marble table-top. The “Due Tavole di Porfido” are probably the porphyry slabs from San Pancrazio, while the “Tre Zampe di marmo per il Tavolone” and “Un Tavolone di Marmo grande” seem to refer to the great table of marble inlaid with alabaster and *pietre dure*, measuring almost 380 centimetres long, on three carved marble piers, which was made for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese between about 1566 and 1573 (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) (Fig.40).²⁷ The Farnese Table is clearly recorded in the “Philosophers’ Hall” in the Palazzo Farnese in seventeenth- and

²³ HA, F2/1046, the 10th Duke’s personal record of his banking transactions with Hoare and Company, 1819-28. Buonavita’s receipt for the £100, dated 5 July 1819, is in HA, Bundle 1072.

²⁴ HA, Bundle 1129, Fesch to Duke, 18 7bre 1819.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Fesch to Duke, 16 8bre 1819. The “Banquier holmes” was William Holmes, who O’Meara describes as “Napoleon’s respectable agent in London” (O’Meara 1822, I, p.xii). Holmes was based at 3 Lyon’s Inn, The Strand: see *ibid.* and the review of O’Meara’s book in the *Quarterly Review*, 28, 1823, pp.224-6.

²⁶ HA, F2/1069/6, “Lista dei marmi mandati &c & nella scozia da Roma nel Gennajo 1819” (in Appendix 9).

²⁷ The Farnese Table is believed to have been designed by the Cardinal’s chief architect Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola and to have been carved by Guglielmo della Porta and the Farnese Palace workshop. The *pietre dure* top is attributed to the French master Jean Ménard, who was called the “Maestro Giovanni Franzese” and Giovanni Mynardo in Italy, and was regarded as the best specialist marble-inlayer in Rome in the 1560s: see Raggio 1960; Raggio 1994, p.8; and Kisluk-Grosheide, Koeppel and Rieder 2006, pp.23-5.

eighteenth-century guidebooks and in the 1767, 1775 and 1796 Farnese Palace inventories, and then “disappears”.²⁸

This precious table, which was envisaged as a focal point in the state rooms of the Farnese Palace, was definitely part of the 10th Duke’s collection. It was damaged during transit and only restored in the 1840s. The association of the two entries on the 1819 list with the Farnese Table is strengthened by Robert Brown’s reference to a breakage in 1819, when he wrote to the Duke on 23 June 1821, begging for more information to avoid damage to another consignment: “I need not call to your Grace’s recollection the trouble we were put to two years ago at Port Glasgow for want of the necessary information[,] nor the loss you suffered from the breakage that took place”.²⁹ The 1853 Hamilton Palace inventory records the Farnese Table in the new Dining Room and the entry was subsequently annotated

got from Convent at Verona on condition of Duke’s repairing Convent which cost him between £4000 and £5000 . The freightage to Greenock amounted to £800, . there broken . mended and put up about four years ago by M^r Grant .³⁰

William Grant, the Duke’s second main clerk of works, definitely supervised the restoration of the table in 1844,³¹ but there is currently nothing to substantiate the link with Verona.

The Duke, Princess Pauline and Thomas Campbell

The 10th Duke continued to correspond with Cardinal Fesch, Madame Mère and Princess Pauline during the remainder of 1819 and 1820³² and was planning – at least by May 1820 – to return to Rome “before the winter”.³³ Despite Fesch’s belief that he would be too busy, he kept to his intention and was back in Rome by mid January 1821, when he invited Fesch to dine with the Duchess and himself.³⁴

²⁸ Raggio 1960, pp.214-5.

²⁹ Bod, MS. Beckford c.39, f.12, Brown to Duke, 23 June 1821.

³⁰ HA, Volume 1228, opposite p.98.

³¹ See HA, C4/141, Grant to Duke, 25 July 1844. Grant’s background was in upholstery and the actual restoration seems to have been done by the Edinburgh firm of stone masons Wallace and Whyte: see HA, Volume 1261, pp.262 and 284.

³² For Cardinal Fesch’s and Princess Pauline’s letters to the Duke during this period, see HA, Bundles 708, 968, 1072 and 1129.

³³ HA, 1072, Fesch to Duke, 22 July 1820. Fesch notes: “I was pleased to know you still keep the plan to return to Rome before the winter; but I am not convinced.”

³⁴ HA, Bundle 968, Fesch to Duke, 14 January 1821.

During the next few months the Duke commissioned the Scottish sculptor Thomas Campbell (1791-1858) to undertake a marble bust of himself, which was almost certainly intended for Princess Pauline, and also a marble bust and a statue of Princess Pauline.³⁵ We learn about the former in a letter from the sculptor to his early patron, the banker Gilbert Innes of Stow, dated 31 March 1821: "I am at present engaged with the Busts of the Duke of Hamilton, Sir Wm: Drummond, Sir James Erskine, and Mr. Hamilton under Secretary of State."³⁶

The commissioning of the bust and statue of the Princess were evidently regarded as a very private matter and were partly cloaked in secrecy. Little has been found about them in the Hamilton archive, and, once again, the key source is one of Campbell's letters to Innes. On 1 November 1821 Campbell informed his benefactor:

I continue to study on as extensive a scale as my means will permit, my having been kept in suspense almost the whole summer by the Princess Borghese who was to have sat to me for her Bust, I have not been able to execute a very extensive Order with which the Duke of Hamilton honored me, Not only a Bust but a Statue of the Princess Borghese to be done in Marble and sent to Scotland, but the death of her Brother has postponed it for a time, The Duke wished this to be kept secret therefore I would not wish it to go much further _³⁷

Later in the same letter Campbell mentions that the order for the two works was worth £400.

Sadly, the death of Napoleon on 5 May 1821 put paid to the double commission, at least as far as the 10th Duke was concerned.³⁸ When news at last reached Rome of Napoleon's death, Pauline lashed out at the British for killing her brother and the 10th Duke suffered her grief and wrath. On 5 August she severed their relationship:

³⁵ All the letters relating to Thomas Campbell, gathered to date, are in Appendix 10.

³⁶ NAS, GD113/5/30F/4/1, Campbell to Gilbert Innes, 31 March 1821. I am extremely grateful to Helen Smailes for alerting me to the references to the 10th Duke in the Innes archive. At this time, Campbell was working and studying in Rome.

³⁷ NAS, GD113/5/480/42, Campbell to Innes, 1 November 1821.

³⁸ It is very interesting to discover that a special appeal was made to the Duke by Pauline's companion and secretary, Sylvie d'Hautmesnil, to stop the Princess joining Napoleon on St Helena. Following the return to Rome of the Abbé Buonavita on 7 July, with bad news about Napoleon's health, Pauline appealed to the British Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, on the 11th, requesting that Napoleon be removed to a healthier place, or, if the government would not agree to this, that she be allowed to join her brother on St Helena (see Kühn 1937, p.264, for her letter). On 15 July Sylvie d'Hautmesnil wrote to the Duke (who was on his way back to Britain), in strictest confidence, begging him to intervene with the British government, and employ any means he could, to ensure that the Princess was not allowed to visit the "infected island": HA, Bundle 1072, Sylvie d'Hautmesnil to Duke, 15 July 1821.

What can I say to you! I am in despair. Nothing in the world can describe my deep despair! My health is cruelly affected by my bad fortune but at present what is life doing to me! I am obliged to talk to you frankly. I cannot continue any close relations with individuals of this nation _ with these executioners, no I cannot. I have promised never to see an English person again, except for Lord and Lady Holland, less for him but to give a mark of remembrance and friendship to the latter. I am sorry to give you this sorrow but this will be the last letter I write to you. Do be assured that the happiness of yourself and your family will always be of interest to me.

But all is said. I cannot like anything which reminds me of that country. Do not write to me anymore. I do not reply to the Duchess either. Show her my letter.

Alas! my heart never was known to you! Never have you been able to judge the tenderness I had for him. At the same time we lose our brother, our Emperor and the head of our family. At least almost the whole of Europe shares our sorrow for it is now that one will feel what he has done, what he stood for at last. I cannot write any more as the tears prevent me from continuing. I am very miserable and nothing can calm my sorrow. Adieu, pity me, think of me sometimes and be assured that I regret that you should belong to a nation which has caused the worst of misfortunes and which has covered itself with shame in the eyes of the universe and of posterity.

your Pauline³⁹

As we shall see, it was not to be the end of their relationship, but the scheme for producing a bust and a statue of the Princess was doomed. It might have been possible to have revived the project after a few months, but the Duke would probably have had to have been physically present to have “sweet-talked” the increasingly ill and fractious Princess to have sat to Campbell for the necessary number of sittings.

Campbell seems to have completed the bust of the Duke, because he wrote to the Duke in April 1822:

I have finished the bust [...] but the Princess’ indisposition has hitherto prevented her giving directions where to place it. I have got the marble for the other bust, but have not yet begun it expecting to have the pleasure of seeing your Grace in Rome when I would beg the favour of another sitting.⁴⁰

³⁹ HA, Bundle 1071, Pauline Borghese to Duke, 5 August [1821].

⁴⁰ This passage was published by A.A. Tait (Tait 1983, p.399, n.45) as being in HA, Bundle 1000, but the letter has either been misplaced or the reference was incorrect.

The (first) bust seems to have been presented to the Princess and to have ended up, after her death, in a Roman antiquary's shop, whence it was retrieved by Campbell, for the Duke, in 1839.⁴¹

Campbell soon realized that he could do little more about the statue of the Princess without the Duke. Time passed, and the Duke failed to push the scheme forward.

In 1824 William, 6th Duke of Devonshire (1790-1858), fell under Pauline's spell⁴² and Campbell seized the opportunity to resuscitate the prestigious and lucrative undertaking. He had been involved with Devonshire – a great purchaser of sculpture⁴³ – since at least January 1823, when Devonshire began sitting for a bust,⁴⁴ and at some point he “seeded” Devonshire's mind with the idea of a statue, as well as a bust of the Princess. The model for the bust of the Princess was begun on 16 March 1824 and completed on 23 March, not without problems from the sitter.⁴⁵ Campbell provided an estimate of five hundred pounds for the statue on 19 April,⁴⁶ and, after exchanges about the cost, Devonshire formally commissioned the work two days later.⁴⁷ Devonshire had bought Canova's marble statue of Madame Mère seated in 1818,⁴⁸ and the 10th Duke of Hamilton's intended work evolved into

⁴¹ NLS, MS 146, f.53, Duke to Campbell, 20 May 1839 (in Appendix 10). This bust could be linked to the “bust of a gentleman, with Classical drapery, life-size, by Thomas Campbell, Rome, 1822 [...]” included in Christie, Manson and Woods' sale of *The Remaining Contents of the Palace*, 13 November 1919, lot 328. The same sale included (as lot 363) a “smaller bust” of the 10th Duke [i.e. smaller than the colossal bronze bust of the Duke by Campbell, dated 1839, which was the previous lot] “by Thomas Campbell, 1823, life-size”, which may be associated with the second bust referred to by Campbell, or simply a copy of the 1822 bust.

⁴² On the Duke of Devonshire generally, see Lees-Milne 1991. Devonshire's slavish attendance on Pauline is recorded in his 1824 diary at Chatsworth. I would like to thank Charles Noble and Andrew Peppitt for all their help during my visits to Chatsworth.

⁴³ For the Duke's purchases and commissions, see Kenworthy-Browne 1972.

⁴⁴ The 6th Duke's diary for 1823, at Chatsworth, records that he called on “Campbell the Sculptor and engaged to sit to him for my bust” on 2 January and “went to Campbell for my first sitting” on 7 January. Devonshire notes that he bought “the highly finished bust of Madame Mere”, even “though I have the statue”, on 8 January. According to the diary, he sat to Campbell on 7, 9, 11, 13, 15 and 18 January. Campbell finished the model, which appeared to Devonshire “to be a perfect likeness”, at a final sitting on 3 February. Devonshire visited Campbell again on 7 and 12 February before returning to Britain. He was back in Rome again on 13 November. Devonshire's 1824 diary records a visit to Campbell's studio on 13 February 1824, followed by dozens of references to Pauline.

⁴⁵ The 6th Duke's diary entries are in Appendix 10.

⁴⁶ Chatsworth, the 6th Duke of Devonshire's Sculpture Accounts, p.33.

⁴⁷ Chatsworth, diary of the 6th Duke of Devonshire for 1824, under 21 April: “to Campbell where I sat I have ordered a statue of Pauline from him.”

⁴⁸ Arts Council 1972, p.207.

Campbell's well-known statue of Pauline, also seated, which was completed in 1840 (Fig.41).⁴⁹ (Both statues are now in the Sculpture Gallery at Chatsworth.)

Italian Acquisitions of the 1820s

The 10th Duke suffered a nasty setback over the bust and statue of Pauline, but his visit to Rome was certainly not a failure. Lists and correspondence reveal that he succeeded in acquiring many more pieces of porphyry, alabaster and various types of marble, including columns and sphinxes; the Roman version of the bust of the *Aphrodite of Cnidus*, after Praxiteles, from the Braschi Palace (now in the British Museum) (Fig.42);⁵⁰ and at least five paintings, including Pontormo's *Joseph with Jacob in Egypt* (now in the National Gallery, London) (Fig.43).⁵¹

A list of items sent from Rome, dated 18 April 1821,⁵² and a bill of lading, dated Rome, 24 April 1821,⁵³ record that most of the items – including two porphyry “Tavolini”, two alabaster vases and two sphinxes (one alabaster and the other marble) – came from “Scarpellino Viti”, while two columns of Astrakhan marble, another of black granite, the bust of Aphrodite (wrongly identified as Diana) and “cinque quadri”⁵⁴ were associated with the Palazzo Braschi.

The acquisition of items from the Palazzo Braschi is particularly interesting. The palace (now the Museum of Rome) had been built for Don Luigi Braschi and Cardinal Romualdo Braschi, the nephews of Pope Pius VI, and was the last of the great palaces constructed in Rome in the eighteenth century (and, indeed, the last

⁴⁹ For Campbell's work for Devonshire, see Kenworthy-Browne 1971.

⁵⁰ I am much obliged to Dr Peter Higgs for showing me the bust (1924.11-15.1) in storage. For information and comment about the piece, see Gardner 1925, p.20; Blinkenberg 1933, pp.180-2; and Corso 2007, pp.133-4, 222 and 267.

⁵¹ As we shall see in a moment, five paintings apparently came from the Palazzo Braschi. Pontormo's painting, which was formerly in the Borghese collection, was acquired from or through Hamilton's agent Gherardo de' Rossi in or before May 1821. It is referred to, incorrectly, on de' Rossi's account with the Duke for May 1821, under 21 May: “importo del Quadro di Ponsormo Roma li 21. Mag°. 1821 1000” (HA, Bundle 680). On a fragment of a letter dated 13 8bre [i.e. October] 1822, de' Rossi later observed to the Duke: “Mi fa molto piacere l'udire ch' e contento del Pontormo, e saro debitore a quella pittura che V: E [i.e. Vostra Eccellenza] piu spesso si ricordi di me” (HA, Bundle 1072). The Pontormo is recorded in the Breakfast Room on the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory, valued at £300 (HA, M4/70, p.168).

⁵² HA, F2/1069/8, list of items sent from Rome to England, dated 18 April 1821 (in Appendix 9).

⁵³ HA, M12/27, bill of lading, dated Rome, 24 April 1821 (in Appendix 9).

⁵⁴ Unfortunately, nothing has yet been found about the titles and attributions of these five works. It is worth noting that they are not the “Pordenone Giorgione and Mantegna & Alberto Duro” that were sent up to Scotland in the early 1820s from London. They were in London in January 1820 (see HA, F2/1040) and were earlier acquisitions.

palace erected for papal *nipoti*).⁵⁵ Don Luigi had died in February 1816 and the Cardinal on 30 April 1817, and the 10th Duke was able to benefit from their deaths and the dispersal of their collections. In early June 1817 the Duke had been rather rude about the Braschi Palace, describing the gilded interiors with oriental marbles as “mesquin et petit” in a letter to Beckford,⁵⁶ but he seems to have taken the opportunity to buy Braschi items at an early date and then to have secured others later on.

Clarke’s list of manuscripts belonging to Douglas, published in 1819, includes “Lucanus, Codex Antiquissimus, small folio”.⁵⁷ This might be Lucan, *De bello civili libri X*, an Italian thirteenth-century manuscript, which bears the arms of Cardinal Romualdo Braschi (Berlin, Hamilton 414).⁵⁸ However, Clarke seems to have examined Douglas’s manuscripts in July 1816, when he apparently saw a folio ‘Lucanus’,⁵⁹ and he may not have had the opportunity to incorporate the Braschi Lucan, which must have been acquired after the Cardinal’s death, in the published list.

The Braschi items on the 1821 list are followed by more Braschi-related pieces apparently acquired by the Duke in Rome in 1827. A list of objects to be sent from Rome to Hamilton, dated 30 June 1827, includes a piece of grey oriental granite and a pedestal of porphyry, either or both “di Braschi”; three panels of red Egyptian granite associated with the column of Antoninus Pius, “di Braschi”; and an alabaster column “di Braschi”.⁶⁰

These references show the Duke drawing a significant amount of material from the Braschi collection over a decade. They reflect the availability of good-quality items, but the Duke’s selection also seems to mirror a concentration on provenance. This is partly confirmed by the reference on the 1821 list to either the tables on gilded stands or four porcelain vases coming from the “casa Colonna”, and by the series of items associated with the Farnese family. What has been identified here as the Farnese Table on the 1819 list is followed by four cases of Farnese chairs

⁵⁵ For the palazzo, see Ricci 1989.

⁵⁶ Bod, MS. Beckford c.20, f.24v, Douglas to Beckford, 2 June 1817.

⁵⁷ Appendix 3, 46.

⁵⁸ Boese, p.195.

⁵⁹ HTHL, list of manuscripts annotated ‘List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816’.

⁶⁰ HA, F2/1069/7 (in Appendix 9).

or stools (“Sgabeloni di Fernese”) in 1821⁶¹ and “La famosa tazza dal Cardinale F ____ &c &” sent from Rome in 1827,⁶² which must be “Il vaso di giallo antico del Cardinale con le zampe &c &” received from Rome a year later.⁶³

The Production of Magnificent Furniture based on Italian Acquisitions

The Duke’s focus on provenance should not blind us to an even more important point about many of the items acquired from Rome between 1817 and 1828, namely that they were incomplete and either needed stands or were simply parts for incorporation in new pieces of furniture.

As a result of his Roman collecting, the Duke began to commission very expensive stands and cabinets. The colossal porphyry slabs from San Pancrazio were set on superb gilt-bronze and black marble bases, which the Duke commissioned from Jean-François Dénier (now in the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto) (Fig.39).⁶⁴ Dénier had supplied the ormolu for the cradle of the duc de Bordeaux (the grandson of Louis XVIII’s brother, the future Charles X) that had been displayed at the exhibition of French industry in Paris in 1819,⁶⁵ and the Duke responded to this very successful work by awarding the Parisian *bronzier* the commission to produce spectacular bases to complement his exceptionally large porphyry slabs. The resulting works, signed and dated 1823, in the latest, Louis XIV revival style, were shown at the next *Exposition des Produits de l’industrie française* held at the Louvre in 1823, and cost 32,542 francs.⁶⁶

Around the same time, the Duke commissioned another, equally ostentatious piece of furniture: the clock cabinet decorated with *pietre dure*, now in the Gilbert Collection, London (Fig.44). This was based on “Un quadrante pietre di Firenze”, recorded at the end of the additions on the reverse of the list of marbles and other works sent from Rome to Scotland in January 1819,⁶⁷ and was among the items given to the London furniture maker and supplier Robert Hume in or around January

⁶¹ HA, F2/1069/8.

⁶² HA, F2/1069/7.

⁶³ HA, F2/1069/8.

⁶⁴ This paragraph develops Freyberger 1993; see also Massinelli 2000, pp.49-50.

⁶⁵ See *Un âge d’or des arts décoratifs 1814-1848*, exh.cat. Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris (Paris, 1991), pp.124-6.

⁶⁶ *Catalogue [...] des Produits de l’industrie française [...] dans le Palais du Louvre* (Paris, 1823), p.151, no.1583.

⁶⁷ HA, F2/1069/6.

1820. A memorandum written by the Duke, dated 17 January 1820, records that he had given a “Clock Pietra dura” to Hume, and it seems likely that some of the *pietre dure* also given to Hume (at the top of the list) and the “mosaics florentine P bought of Hume pietra dura” (immediately above the reference to the “Clock Pietra dura”) were to be used in combination with the clock.⁶⁸ They were supplemented with lapis lazuli and agate imported from France in December 1822⁶⁹ (which probably formed the flat panels on the cabinet), and the cabinet was apparently completed – after a delay caused by the “Chaser” of the metalwork⁷⁰ – by early December 1824.⁷¹

The purchases of marble, porphyry and *pietre dure* discussed above and the commissioning of “princely” or “regal” furniture had an enormous affect upon the 10th Duke. He became a “marblemaniac”, with a special interest in porphyry,⁷² who placed items of marble, porphyry and *pietre dure* in key display positions in Hamilton Palace,⁷³ and acquired further top-quality examples over the years, both for their own sake and to ensure that such grandiose works could be displayed in both the old and new parts of the enlarged palace in the 1830s and ’40s.

The Duke and Princess Pauline: The Final Phase and the Bequest of the Borghese *Nécessaire de Voyage*

The Duke’s visits to Rome were crucial to this aspect of his collecting, but they were also decisive as far as his interest in Napoleon was concerned. Letters in the Hamilton archive show that he continued to correspond with the Bonapartes after Pauline severed their relationship. Indeed, in August 1821 Cardinal Fesch asked the Duke, on behalf of Madame Mère and himself, if would convey a parcel to Count

⁶⁸ HA, F2/1048/7, memorandum written by the Duke, dated 17 January 1820 (in Appendix 9).

⁶⁹ HA, F2/1048/4, bill from John Christopher to Hume & Son, relating to the importation of a “Case” from Calais, dated 12 December 1822. The bill is annotated with the explanation: “Lapis & Agate for The Duke of Hamiltons Clock Cabinet”.

⁷⁰ HA, Bundle 602, Hume to Duke, 16 December 1824. This letter is transcribed and illustrated in Freyberger’s article on “The Duke of Hamilton’s Clock Cabinet” (Freyberger 1991), which discusses the post-1820 documentation and the connection of the oblong panel below the clock to a drawing of a cabinet decorated with *pietre dure* in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.

⁷¹ HA, Bundle 602, Hume to Duke, 16 January 1825, noting that “The Clock Commode has been finish^d 6 Weeks and is now packing”.

⁷² See the 6th Duke of Devonshire’s critical comments on the 10th Duke and the 10th Duke’s letter to him, drawing attention to possible acquisitions of porphyry and marble in April 1823, in Appendix 9.

⁷³ The 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory records the porphyry tables in the Breakfast Room and the Drawing Room (the first and second rooms in the Old State Apartments on the first floor of the west wing), valued at £1,000 each, and the clock cabinet (as “A Florentine Commode”) in the Drawing Room, valued at £800: see HA, M4/70, pp.25, 28 and 29.

Bertrand (Napoleon's trusted General and friend on St Helena). In or with the package was a letter from Madame Mère to the British government, requesting the return of Napoleon's body from St Helena, which the Duke was either to give to Bertrand or, if Bertrand had left England and was agreeable, hand over to the Ministry.⁷⁴ Exactly what happened next is not known, but on 22 September Barry O'Meara wrote to the Duke to inform him that a joint letter from Counts Montholon and Bertrand had been sent to the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, the previous day, seeking an interview with him. An answer had been returned by Liverpool, but O'Meara did not know the contents, as Montholon had dined with Lord Holland. Nevertheless, O'Meara assured the Duke: "A joint letter containing a respectful protestation against the detention of Napoleons remains at St Helena and praying the removal of them to Europe is drawn out and will be presented to his Lordship simultaneously with the letter brought over by Your Grace."⁷⁵

The Duke wrote to Cardinal Fesch on 5 September, sending a letter to Madame Mère and a "little box for Princess Pauline",⁷⁶ and was soon back in Pauline's good books. He helped the Princess with various matters⁷⁷ and also gave her money. The exact amount given or lent cannot be determined at present, but there is a clear annotation "Pauline's £550", in the Duke's handwriting, on the bill from Gherardo de' Rossi for May 1821.⁷⁸ This may have been an early gift, but it seems more likely that it relates to the assistance the Duke gave the Princess to acquire a carriage. In April 1823 Pauline corresponded with Duke about a carriage which Dr Espiaud apparently believed could be purchased for 2,000 francs,⁷⁹ but no more is

⁷⁴ HA, Bundle 708, Fesch to Duke, 16 August 1821.

⁷⁵ HA, Bundle 775, O'Meara to Duke, 22 September [1821].

⁷⁶ HA, Bundle 769, Fesch to Duke, 29 7bre 1821. Fesch ends the letter: "When we are back together I too will have many things to tell you; nevertheless I am very touched by the way you share our misfortune. At any rate I know your feelings which fill me with gratitude".

⁷⁷ See HA, Bundles 660 and 1071. The Duke gave a box containing a parure of opals and diamonds belonging to the Princess to her physician, Dr Espiaud, in Paris, on 19 February 1822: see Espiaud's receipt in HA, Bundle 660. This was a continuation of his dealings with Espiaud, as 8,016 francs had been paid from his Parisian bank account to Espiaud the previous year: see Laffitte and Company to the Duke, 3 February 1821 (Bundle 660). The Duke also endorsed an undated contract between "Espiaux" and Mademoiselle Seigneuret, for the latter to be employed as "lectrice" and "dame de compagnie" to Princess Pauline (Bundle 925).

⁷⁸ The annotation does not seem to relate to the bill or even to the spring/summer of 1821. The Duke used the bill as a marker for "Papers belonging to my accompts with Messrs Hoares" and followed these words with "Pauline's £550 / Lady Anne [i.e. his sister Lady Anne Hamilton] £6000 [i.e. her annuity] / & other affairs": see HA, Bundle 680, bill from Gherardo de' Rossi to 10th Duke for May 1821.

⁷⁹ HA, Bundle 1071, Pauline Borghese to Duke, 11 April 1823.

heard about this. The next we know is that Pauline wrote to the Duke on 11 June 1824, in her usual well-nigh illegible handwriting, and sought a loan for another coach:

My friend I shall ask you a favour which will prove to you my trust and my esteem for you, but on condition that if it is a source of bother you will say no. Little Calcraft I commissioned my travelling carriage from but telling him not to go over 2000 piastres has sent me the coach on Monday and writes that I owe him 600 Louis. It is enormous. At this point I am embarrassed, I will only be able to pay in five months. If you can advance this sum I will do [un billet: a promissory note for payment] in Lucca or in London [...] Tell me my friend I will be grateful. Write to me here at the address of Buolomacchi. Adieu my dear friend, I [embrasse: embrace or kiss] you with all my heart _⁸⁰

Pauline's appeal can be linked to a receipt, in the Hamilton archive, made out by the leading London coachmakers Adams and Company to "J.. H Calcraft Esqr M.P.", on 27 December 1824, for £600, "In Carriages delivered to the Princess Borghese".⁸¹ In the same bundle is a covering note from J.H. Calcraft to the Duke, dated 29 December, which refers to the enclosure of "the Coachmakers receipt" and expresses the hope that it will meet with the Duke's "satisfaction". The Duke has very helpfully docketed the letter with the full date, December 29 1824, and annotated it: "M^r Calcrafts letter with the coach-makers receipt for £600 the sum due in full to him[.] NB: I paid £550 there being £50 paid from another source".⁸²

In December 1825, six months after Pauline's death, her former chamberlain, the chevalier d'Hautmesnil, informed the Duke that he had "made quite sure" "to obtain recognition of your credit note of £550 which you had the kindness to pay to the Princess".⁸³

⁸⁰ HA, Bundle 708, Pauline Borghese to Duke, 11 June [1824]. A reference to the death of the Duchess of Devonshire, which took place on 30 March 1824, establishes that this letter was written on 11 June 1824. Pauline herself died on 9 June 1825.

⁸¹ HA, Bundle 660.

⁸² "J.H. Calcraft" seems to have been the Whig MP John Calcraft (1765-1831), who was educated at Harrow (1774) and Eton (1778-79) and was MP for Wareham from 1818 to 1831. He was Clerk of the Ordnance during the "Ministry of All the Talents", when the Duke was Ambassador to St Petersburg.

⁸³ HA, Bundle 708, d'Hautmesnil to Duke, 18 December 1825. On 28 March 1826 d'Hautmesnil wrote to the Duke: "Cardinal Rivaroli, the second executor of the will, has given his powers to Monsignor Ugolini in Rome. He is a very honest prelate and I think, My Lord Duke, that it is to him you should address your claim for £550. You can be sure he would immediately submit your request to the council of succession, and he would at once tell you of the decision taken, but I shall write to him in the meantime and warn him of your imminent letter." D'Hautmesnil repeated this advice on 9 April and noted that the coach was in Prince Borghese's coach-house in Florence (both letters are in HA, Bundle 708).

Pauline's reward for this and all the Duke's other aid was the bequest of the wonderful travelling service by Martin-Guillaume Biennais (National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh) (Fig.45). In her will, finalized and signed on the morning of her death on 9 June 1825, the Princess "Lascio e lego al Duca d'Hamilton Marchese Douglas il mio necessario d'argento dorato, come un ricordo dell' amicizia che egli mi professa".⁸⁴ It was a very special token of regard because it was so intimate: Pauline's own travelling toilette and eating service, and apparently the *nécessaire de voyage* completed and supplied in connection with her marriage to Prince Camillo Borghese in 1803.⁸⁵ Moreover, the Princess bequeathed the travelling service to the Duke in the context of legacies to members of her own family. It is the eleventh indented entry in her will, directly after bequests to her husband Prince Camillo Borghese and brother-in-law Prince Aldobrandini and immediately before the expression of "sincere sentiments of affection and of love" for her brother Joseph, who was deemed to be better provided with the "goods of fortune" than his brothers and not in need of a legacy. The bequest to the Duchess of Hamilton of two Sèvres porcelain vases from the Princess's bedroom in the Villa Paolina is the eighty-second entry, and is followed by bequests to Lord Gower and Lord Holland (who is always seen as Napoleon's chief Whig supporter), and, four entries further down, by the gift of a small opal ring to the Hamiltons' daughter, Susan.

Consequences

The Duke would certainly have appreciated how honoured he was because an edited English translation of Pauline's will was published in *The Times* in early September 1825.⁸⁶ It encouraged him to maintain contact with Cardinal Fesch and Madame Mère, to collect other outstanding Napoleonic items, and to patronize architects and sculptors associated with the former Emperor.

⁸⁴ Pauline's will is published in Lazzareschi 1932, pp.261-78, and Luzzatto-Guerrini 1932, pp.548-64. The legacy to the Duke is in Lazzareschi, p.265, and Luzzatto-Guerrini on p.553.

⁸⁵ We can deduce this from the very simple style of the pieces, the early silver standard marks, and the engraved initials "BB" on the lid, which stand for Bonaparte and Borghese. Biennais began his career as a *tabletier* (a maker or seller of items made of wood and tortoiseshell) and became a specialist assembler of travelling services for French military commanders in the 1790s. He was patronized by Napoleon, who ordered a number of related *nécessaires* from him, and it is possible that the Borghese travelling service was one of Napoleon's presents to Pauline around the time of her marriage.

⁸⁶ *Times*, 2 September 1825, p.4. The bequest to the Duke appears as: "To the Duke of Hamilton, Marquis of Douglas, her *nécessaire* of gilt silver, as a token of remembrance of his friendship [sic] towards her."

Thus, in 1825 the 10th Duke was not only the owner of the porphyry tables, the clock cabinet and at least seventy other pieces of marble, porphyry and *pietre dure* furniture and related items,⁸⁷ but was ready to take delivery of the Borghese *nécessaire*, and to develop his two important collections of semi-precious stones and Napoleonica.

The 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory reveals that, by this date, the Duke had already set up a marble bust of Princess Pauline in his Dressing Room. Displayed or temporarily stored with it because of building work elsewhere in the palace were the Roman marble statue of Venus, goddess of love, bought by the 8th Duke of Hamilton;⁸⁸ the marble bust of “Diana” (i.e. Aphrodite) from the Palazzo Braschi; a porphyry bust of “Niobe” (Fig.46) – actually a copy of the so-called dying Alexander the Great, in marble, in the Uffizi in Florence – that the 10th Duke must have also acquired;⁸⁹ the black granite column from the Braschi Palace; and the two alabaster vases which were also shipped from Rome in 1821.⁹⁰

After a long correspondence with d’Hautmesnil over the Princess’s final days, the disposal of her estate and the bequest,⁹¹ the travelling service was apparently sent, via the Parisian bankers Laffitte and Company, to the Duke in Paris in 1826.⁹²

⁸⁷ The entries on these pieces in the 1825 inventory will be found in Appendix 9.

⁸⁸ For an illustration, see Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., *Classical and Medieval Stone Sculptures [...]* Part III of the Art Collection belonging to the Estate of the Late Joseph Brummer, New York, 9 June 1949, lot 492.

⁸⁹ This overlooked and now “missing” work, which was sold to G. Sinclair in 1882 (lot 886) for £409 10s, appears to be very close to another porphyry bust of “Alexander” in the Museo dell’Opificio delle Pietre Dure in Florence, produced in the workshop of Cellini’s former assistant Francesco Ferrucci del Tadda and his son Romolo, in Florence, in the late sixteenth century (see Butters 1996, I, p.348, and II, fig.127). The Hamilton bust was probably made in the same workshop and constitutes one of the 10th Duke’s most important early acquisitions of porphyry.

⁹⁰ See footnotes 52 and 53 for the 1821 references to these pieces.

⁹¹ See HA, Bundle 708.

⁹² In his letter of 9 April 1826, d’Hautmesnil informed the Duke “that in order to obtain your *nécessaire* you will only need a single receipt signed in Rome, adding to it that it has been given by the Chevalier Gozani on behalf of the Prince Borghese executor of the will of Madame the Princess Borghese.

Should you send me the receipt I will withdraw the *nécessaire* and will have it sent to Lafitte or will leave it at your disposal in Florence with Madame the Marquise Torrigiani where you will pick it up on your way. I shall act in whichever way suits you best but I think it is essential to withdraw it from the Prince Borghese’s as he will be absent for a long time.”

The Duke has annotated the letter in French: “I have sent d’Hautmesnil a receipt dated 21 April 1826 from Paris for the *nécessaire* asking him to send it here through Laffitte & Co_ CH&B” (HA, Bundle 708).

The *nécessaire* made a huge impression upon the Duke and had very far reaching consequences on the Hamilton collection and, indeed, the Hamilton family. Its bequest and ownership stimulated the commissioning of Napoleon's famous architect Charles Percier to design interiors for the new addition to Hamilton Palace around 1826-27 and later the Hamilton Mausoleum around 1829-30. Percier had designed the great silver-gilt "tea service" that was commissioned in connection with the marriage of the Emperor to the Archduchess Marie-Louise in 1810 and his employment by the Duke resulted in its purchase from Charles X in 1830.

In turn, ownership of this incredibly strong holding of Napoleonic material – the David portrait of Napoleon, the bust of Pauline and the two peerless Napoleonic services – would lead the Duke to "build on strength" and to develop this matchless aspect of his collection. It would inspire him to promote the marriage of his son to the daughter of the adopted daughter of Napoleon between 1839 and 1843, purchase another bust of the Princess Pauline in 1840, and secure Thorvaldsen's colossal marble bust of *Napoleon Apotheosized* in 1846. The Napoleonic facet of the collection and family would become even more pronounced under the 11th Duke of Hamilton and his wife, Princess Marie of Baden, a cousin of the Emperor Napoleon III, in the 1850s and early 1860s.

All this will be examined fully in the second half of the thesis, but it is essential to appreciate that the 10th Duke's involvement with Italy between 1816 and 1825 provided both the foundation and the springboard for much of his later collecting and aggrandisement.

The Restoration and Enlargement of Hamilton Palace by the 10th Duke of Hamilton, 1806-1832

The palace that the 9th Duke and his son inherited in 1799 was relatively small, old-fashioned and poorly maintained and either needed major restoration, improvement and enlargement or demolition and rebuilding if it was to serve as an awe-inspiring “powerhouse”. It consisted of an impressive south-facing, Classical-style, Baroque palace, that had been designed by the Scottish architect James Smith for the 3rd Duke and Duchess of Hamilton and largely built and fitted out between about 1693 and 1702¹ (Fig.47), and a very plain, even dreary, north frontage dating from the very late sixteenth-early seventeenth centuries (Fig.48).

This chapter examines the transformation of Hamilton Palace into the greatest projection of status and wealth in the history of Scotland (Fig.49). It seeks to establish the history of the undertaking, with the focus on the key moments and phases, and also to unravel the Duke’s motivation and thinking as the work progressed.

The Early Years: Gillespie Graham to David Hamilton

The first main early finding has been the very lengthy involvement of James Gillespie (who became known as James Gillespie Graham) in work on the palace and other Hamilton projects between about 1806 and 1821 and then his sudden fall from grace and replacement by David Hamilton in 1822. Most Scottish art historians are aware of Gillespie Graham’s work on Brodick Castle, for the 10th Duke’s son and his wife, in the 1840s, but his previous involvement with the 10th Duke is either little known or very poorly appreciated.²

A bill in the Hamilton archive reveals that Gillespie Graham spent three days at Hamilton on the Marquis of Douglas’s business in May 1806 and another four days at Hamilton with his clerk in November. Both visits preceded Douglas’s

Most of the letters and bills referred to in this chapter will be found in Appendix 11, along with other relevant material.

¹ For the Baroque palace and its patrons, see Marshall 2000.

² James Macaulay does not refer to it at all in his chapter on Gillespie Graham in *The Gothic Revival 1745-1845* (Glasgow and London, 1975) or in *The Architecture of James Gillespie Graham* (Edinburgh, 1977).

departure for St Petersburg.³ In November, Gillespie Graham apparently produced a “design of an elevation for Hamilton Palace [as] a present to the Marquis”.⁴ In January 1807 he made Douglas a gift of a “first set of designs for an addition to Hamilton Palace” and charged £21 for “a Second set of finished Plans which were sent to the Marquis”.⁵ This implies that Gillespie Graham’s proposals for the new addition were sent to St Petersburg and raises the possibility that they may have influenced Douglas and Giacomo Quarenghi and the “Casa” Quarenghi designed for Douglas.

While Douglas was in Russia, Gillespie Graham arranged and supervised the re-roofing of Hamilton Palace and other outside and inside repairs, which occupied him for sixteen days in 1807 and a further eleven the following year and cost over £1,500.⁶ All this was carried out under the authority of Douglas’s Edinburgh lawyer Alexander Young, who described the old roof as “ruinous” and threatening “destruction to every thing contained in the House”.⁷

After Douglas’s return from Russia and his marriage in 1810, Gillespie Graham was employed on improvements to the interior and exterior of the palace⁸ and on designing bridges.⁹ However, his main service was to recommend his friend Robert Brown to Young as the principal factor of the Hamilton estates in Scotland.¹⁰ Gillespie Graham and Brown had got to know one another well during the previous decade, when the architect was working for Alexander, 2nd Lord Macdonald, on

³ HA, F2/1028, copy of bill from James Gillespie to the 9th Duke of Hamilton and the Marquis of Douglas for repairs to Hamilton Palace in 1808 and James Gillespie’s services 1806-8.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ HA, Bundle 603, Young to Douglas, 13 December 1808. Young noted that before the installation of new lead drainage the “torrents of rain” from the roof had been settling “round the foundation and placed the Palace in a Quagmire”. Writing a decade later, he claimed that “at top and bottom” the palace had been “admitt[ing] water sufficient to turn a mill wheel” (HA, Bundle 1706, Young to Brown, 1 March 1818). During Douglas’s absence, Gillespie Graham also prepared plans for an “addition” to Brodick Castle: see HA, Bundle 603, Young to Lord Archibald Hamilton, 8 February 1808.

⁸ Gillespie Graham’s letters to Douglas in HA, Bundle 665, provide some information about his work on the palace in 1812-13.

⁹ The unpaginated “General Ledger Hamilton Palace” for 1813-22 in Hamilton Town House Library records that Gillespie Graham was paid £50 for “Plans of Bridges proposed over Clyde” on 23 February 1815 and a further £5 on 5 August 1815.

¹⁰ In August 1811 Young told Douglas it was “his friend Mr Gillespie who first g[a]ve me the id[e]a how suitable Mr Brown was for your Lordships purpose” (HA, Bundle 1566, copy of letter from Young to Douglas, 26 August 1811).

Armadale Castle and the Macdonald estate on Skye and North Uist,¹¹ and Brown was factor to Macdonald of Clanranald in the Hebrides and North West Highlands.

Gillespie Graham cultivated Douglas, presenting him with a “Brace” of pistols by John Murdoch of Doune¹² and a drawing of the proposed town of Kyleakin on the Isle of Skye,¹³ and had high hopes of getting a really major commission – especially with the help of Brown, who took up his post on Whitsunday 1812. Gillespie Graham received £142 15s 4d “for Superintending work at Palace & for Plans &c” in March 1818,¹⁴ and eventually received a commission – probably early in 1820 – to design a castle for the 10th Duke.¹⁵ Unfortunately, this seems to have been an ill-thought-out scheme – apparently involving Young¹⁶ – to build a palace or castle at Chatelherault (the site of William Adam’s “eye-catcher” of a hunting lodge and summer retreat on the skyline to the south of Hamilton Palace) and was soon culled.

In August 1820 Gillespie Graham wrote to Brown seeking his advice and support to get work on public buildings in Lanarkshire and noted that he had “the Dukes Castle in a state of forwardness”,¹⁷ but by early September 1821 Gillespie Graham knew that the castle project was dead and was anxious to get work on the new addition to Hamilton Palace. He was clearly aware that the Duke had obtained designs from the Italian architect Francesco Saponieri (which will be discussed later) and was prepared to play second fiddle – as he informed his friend Brown:

I was fav[u or o]red with yours & having had occasion to come here _ I have brought the Dukes plans with me _ and as you are to be at home _ I will have the pleasure of spending a night with you on Sunday _ as I have much to say to you _ I feel sensible that you will use your influence with his Grace to Obtain his future employment _ &

¹¹ See Macaulay 1975, pp.229-33.

¹² See the undated “Memorandum” from Gillespie Graham to Alexander Young, on paper with the watermarked date 1805 (HA, Bundle 2088). Gillespie Graham offered the pistols “to the hereditary Representative of the first Family of Scotland _ his noble and generous Patron & Employer The Marquis of Douglas _”.

¹³ HA, Bundle 665, Gillespie Graham to Douglas, 22 December 1812. This gift was probably intended to stimulate Douglas into extending his improvements on Arran to a new town, along the lines of Lord Macdonald’s ambitious and never realized “New Liverpool” (directly opposite Kyle of Lochalsh and the mainland), and employing Gillespie Graham as its architect.

¹⁴ HTHL, “General Ledger Hamilton Palace”, 1813-22, under 30 March 1818.

¹⁵ Gillespie Graham may have been involved in other undertakings around this time because he received £106 for unspecified work in May 1820 and later returned an overpayment of one pound (*ibid.*, under 26 May 1820 and a subsequent undated entry).

¹⁶ See HA, Bundle 1728, Young to Brown, 7 February 1820.

¹⁷ HA, Bundle 1761, Gillespie Graham to Brown, 28 August 1820.

altho he does not Build his Castle I hope he will not pass me in the contemplated addition _ & should be too happy even to prepare Working Drawings and take charge of the Building _ of any designs which he may have got at Rome _ or make such changes on his plans as he may want _

His Graces employment under any circumstances would be of vast advantage to me in my professional line _ & my only hope is in your kind interference. _¹⁸

Three weeks later, Gillespie Graham wrote to Brown:

I see by the news paper that the Duke has arrived _ I wish to be advised by you whether I should send the Plans which I have prepared for his Grace with a written description or to wait on him in person _ as you know best _ be so kind as write me in course _ It is an age since we met. Will any thing be done to the present Fabric next year?¹⁹

What happened next is still unclear, but Gillespie Graham was soon supplanted by David Hamilton.²⁰ It is not known if this was the consequence of a disagreement,²¹ but the decision to part company with the determined and rather desperate Edinburgh architect would have made sound sense to the Duke for a number of reasons. In the first place, Gillespie Graham and Robert Brown were much too close and formidable as a pair of professionals to have given the Duke the freedom of action he wanted in designing and building the addition. Secondly, in choosing Hamilton, a patron with definite Classical tastes and a desire for respect and admiration gained a very able, self-taught, almost illiterate and extremely deferential architect, who was delighted to work for the premier peer of Scotland in the Classical style. By contrast, Gillespie Graham was a dedicated exponent of the Gothic revival style, whose reputation was based on the Roman Catholic chapels (now cathedrals) in Edinburgh and Glasgow (1813 and 1814), and whose main Classical work to date consisted of the small Independent Chapel, West George

¹⁸ HA, Bundle 1781, Gillespie Graham to Brown, 3 September 1821.

¹⁹ HA, Bundle 1782, Gillespie Graham to Brown, 25 September 1821.

²⁰ A payment relating to David Hamilton's bill of 15 November 1824, on 21 November 1826, gives the period of the account as 18 October 1821 to 13 November 1824: see HTHL, Hamilton Estate Ledger, 1823-30, p.246.

²¹ There was certainly a major disagreement later, with the Duke refusing to pay part of Gillespie Graham's account and the architect threatening to sue his previously highly respected patron for the full amount: see HA, Bundle 679, Gillespie Graham to Aytoun, 2 October 1824.

Street, Glasgow (1819).²² Lastly, by employing Hamilton the Duke was able to congratulate himself that he was aiding and promoting a local (Glasgow) architect and, indeed, a member of his family or clan and expect a large amount of favourable comment about such patronage.

There were probably other considerations, but the Duke undoubtedly made the right decision – as a self-centred patron who wanted to play a dominant rôle in the design of a Classical-style addition to the palace – to drop Gillespie Graham and take on Hamilton.

Locking Robert Brown into the Project as Supervisor and Manager

Significantly, the Duke also moved to retain Robert Brown, who had rendered splendid service over the past decade, helping to maximise the Duke's incomes and reduce his debt from £90,000 to about £30,000 between 1812 and 1820. During the early 1820s, Brown was trying to increase revenues to help pay the £60,000, plus interest, that the Duke was committed to paying the 8th Duke of Hamilton's illegitimate daughter between 1820 and 1826, and also acting as the Duke's main representative in the ultimately abortive negotiations with William Beckford's lawyer to try to save Fonthill Abbey and its contents (along with Beckford's English estates) for the Hamilton family, rather than sell them to pay off the maniacal collector's creditors.²³ The Duke quite rightly valued Brown's expertise and commitment and recognised that he needed him, both as an able factor of a large agricultural estate with coal and other mineral resources ripe for exploitation, and as his buildings manager during the restoration and enlargement of Hamilton Palace and his own long absences.

Looking through the correspondence, there does not seem to have been any real danger of the Duke losing his dedicated supporter. Brown seems to have got

²² Gillespie Graham went on to design Kilmadock East Church, Perthshire (1822) and the Deaf and Dumb Institution, Edinburgh (1823) in the Classical style, but they came too late to influence the Duke.

²³ The correspondence about this is now in the Bodleian Library, among the Beckford papers sold from the Hamilton archive in 1977. The principal letters in English, dating from November 1821 to September 1822, are included in Appendix 11. On 3 September 1822 the Duke was obliged to admit to Beckford's solicitor, James Somerville Fownes: "it is impossible for me to engage to pay M^r Beckford £5000 per annum and make large advances besides _ I have not the money, & were I to engage for a similar obligation, it is more than probable that I Should not be able to make it good_" (Bod, MS. Beckford c.39, f.70v).

over his depression in 1820 with the return to a debt of £90,000.²⁴ Moreover, he appears to have accepted the rejection of his excellent advice that it would have been better to have acquired Fonthill (in a pleasant county) than to have poured money into Hamilton Palace (in an increasingly industrial area with political and economic problems),²⁵ along with the Duke's right to employ Hamilton instead of Gillespie Graham.

Nonetheless, the Duke evidently felt he had to lock Brown into his plans and their fulfilment. At the end of March 1822 he wrote to the factor, assuring him that "I hold you & your feelings towards me beyond price", and insisted that he accept an additional £300 *per annum* in recognition of all his extra exertions in recent years.²⁶ Nor was this the end of the "golden handcuffing". On Christmas Day 1823 the Duke instructed Brown to draw £1,000 a year from January, not as a salary

dependant upon your present engagement with me, but as your own, and to be continued to you during my life time unconditionally, as a proof, of my regard, & of the sense I entertain of your past services _ Having said thus much, I cannot conclude without subjoining; that I trust & hope I may look forward to the benefit of your assistance in my concerns during the rest of my life; & if my son follows my advice & example, he will be equally anxious to retain you amongst his friends _

²⁴ In 1820 Brown confided to Young: "For my part I have neither nerve or inclination to fight and struggle with a burden of this magnitude when the Principal leaves the Country and us to our fate and perhaps cannot estimate the extent of our labours or the difficulties We must encounter in carrying him through with credit _ I begin to feel that my labours are endless and that I am almost as distant as ever from having the Dukes business in a shape that it can be managed with ease to myself" (HA, Bundle 1767, draft letter Brown to Young, 26 November 1820).

²⁵ It is worth focusing attention on Brown's argument because it was extremely valid. Writing to the 10th Duke on 2 January 1822, Brown acknowledged the Duchess's and Lord Archibald Hamilton's justifiable concerns about the acquisition of Fonthill and then presented the counter-argument: "But do they not see that if you do secure these properties you get fair value for your money _ that if you do encrease the number of your Seats you will have at least one fit for a Family residence and one in a quiet pleasant country where moveable property would be safe and such a Seat as ought to supercede expensive improvements here. _ They must also be aware that the residence Here is becoming every day less inviting _ The very circumstances of the establishment of the half Bedlam half Hospital by M^r. Owen behind Logans, the setting down Iron & Coal works betwixt Motherwell & Airblas with the encreasing manufacturing and pauper population of Hamilton and its Vicinity ready on any popular commotion to overturn and destroy every kind of property that is in their way, must drive the Family of Hamilton from this place as a residence at no great distance of time" (Bod, MS. Beckford c.39, f.32).

As Brown realized, the Duke was making a very big mistake in wanting to develop Hamilton Palace. It was much too close to the town of Hamilton and to economic and political unrest to be a safe residence, and the industrialisation of Lanarkshire meant that it would become an increasingly unpleasant place in which to live. Brown's remarks are all the more perspicacious and piquant because, after the family gave up Hamilton Palace, the 13th Duke and his family lived at Dungavel, in the countryside about 12 miles south-west of Hamilton, and at Ferne Hill, in Wiltshire (not far from Fonthill).

²⁶ ML, Executory Papers of Robert Brown, Duke to Brown, 28 March [1822].

With sentiments of sincere regard & esteem, I remain My good Sir
 Your attached
C:H:& B.²⁷

This was an extremely generous act, based on genuine appreciation; but it was also intended to bind Brown to the Duke and ensure that he remained with his master for the rest of his career. Brown was surprised and deeply moved by such liberality and committed himself to working for the Duke and his son for as long as his health and mental faculties allowed.²⁸ The corollary was that Brown continued as the Duke's principal factor until he was obliged by infirmity to retire and diligently supervised the palace through to its completion in 1845.

David Hamilton and the Duke

Brown had to be handled with care, but David Hamilton was eager and willing to serve and accommodate the Duke. The opening of his first surviving long letter, dated 29 April 1822, reflects extreme deference and flexibility:

I was honoured with Your Grace'[s] very correct and explicit letter, and explanatory Sketches of Hamilton Palace. I return Your Grace my best thanks for the condescending and kind manner in which Your Grace has been pleased to notice the general designs; they were made merely to serve Your Grace to suggest improvements and arrangements upon.²⁹

The letter is of very considerable interest because it records that the Duke was already limiting the addition to "only a Facade as it were", and that Brown and Hamilton were working closely together from the outset. It also reveals that the old north wall was in such an extremely bad state – "completely rent and split in the heart, without band of any kind, so as to have allowed the smoke and fire of the different chimnies to have communicated all over that part of the Building; to the great danger of the whole Palace, and the irraparable loss of works of Art" – that Brown and Hamilton had agreed to rebuild it, sort out the support of the "joists of the different floors and roof", and then reinstate the woodwork that had been removed from the Gallery.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Duke to Brown, 25 December 1823.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Brown to Duke, 25 December 1823.

²⁹ HA, drawing 68, David Hamilton to Duke, 29 April 1822.

Hamilton sent two sets of plans for the ground and first floors which showed possible layouts of rooms and the new grand staircase.

Another long letter from Hamilton, dated 28 June 1822, highlights the care that was taken from the start in obtaining and using first-rate materials and in striving for bold effects and high-quality workmanship:

Mr., Brown has been very industrious, and at great pains in collecting from all the quarries around, samples of the best stone for the hewn work, and has put some of the most likely ones into the hands of Mr., Charles Macintosh, an excellent Chemist, and I was very happy to witness the result, in his Laboratory; very fortunately the stone that proves best by the chemical tests, is of the finest colour, will make the handsomest work, and can be raised in blocks of large dimensions; It is really a very beautiful stone; I am quite of Your Grace's mind, the architectural parts of the Fronts, should be executed in a bold prominent, manner, every feature made to tell out, and affected with the fewest joints, of course with the largest stones, which constitutes a great perfection in Masonry; those of the rustic courses are not intended to be of lesser sizes than Your Grace mentions.³⁰

Three possible layouts of the principal floor, with options for the Grand Stairs, were enclosed, and Hamilton was sufficiently confident with the planning that he felt able to calculate "the expense of the whole Masonry" at £7,900 and the finishing of the interiors at £9,900 – a total of £17,800.

One would have thought that the initial design was fairly advanced³¹ and that work would soon have begun on detailed drawings, leading on quickly to actual construction. But the 10th Duke wanted to review and revise the plans and this delayed the completion of the basic designs and the start of building until at least the spring of 1824.³²

David Hamilton was plainly embarrassed in mid November 1824 when he came to present his bill to Brown and felt obliged to justify the high charge:

³⁰ HA, Bundle 606, Hamilton to Duke, 28 June 1822.

³¹ The unpaginated "General Ledger" for Hamilton Palace, in Hamilton Town House Library, records that David Hamilton received £62 7s on 28 November 1822 "for drawing Plans &c & for his attendance &c relative to the alterations & new work at Palace omitted formerly".

³² John Connell started as the clerk of works on 1 March 1824: see HA, C4/95, Connell to Duke, 21 February 1824.

I beg to hand you my account for the drawings of Hamilton Palace &^c and for the time spent in my attendance there preceding this date[.] You will see that the amount, is considerable being £492 ,, 16 ,, 6, but you will also see that the time spent on the Duke's business is 178 days of myself and 183 of my clerk, which was owing to the frequent change of the plans and frequent attendance upon His Grace[.]

It may be some satisfaction to the Duke however to learn that the business has made such progress, that nothing in proportion to the same charge can take place again, the general design being now ascertained — The other drawings required for the exterior and roofing in the building, will not exceed another £200 and will be furnished to His Grace without delay.³³

The Design of the Addition

The final design (Fig.50) can be seen as the development of the proposal for a new north front that William Adam had drawn up for the 5th Duke of Hamilton, probably in the late 1720s-1730s, with the 10th Duke increasing the scale, simplicity and grandeur and also the use of Classical models.

The Duke may have had some of Adam's original designs, but they had been given a new lease of life when the old engraved sheets of the architect's *oeuvre* were finally assembled and published by his grandson in *Vitruvius Scoticus* in 1812. Gillespie Graham had sent the Duke a copy of this large and prestigious publication in December 1812.³⁴ Consequently, the Duke had had over a decade to mull over Adam's designs for the north front (Fig.51) and the proposed alterations to the Baroque palace,³⁵ and the fact that these unimplemented designs were laid out directly after the plans of Holyroodhouse and before those of all the other great Scottish houses – to the shame of the House of Hamilton.

In essence, the Duke accepted Adam's basic design of a central portico and double staircase, with a rusticated basement, tall rectangular windows on the first floor and squarer windows on the second floor, and rejected the elaborate parapet.

³³ HA, C4/706/1, Hamilton to Brown 15 November 1824. The Hamilton Estates ledger for 1823-30 in Hamilton Town House Library reveals that David Hamilton received £100 on 10 November and a further £200 on the 15th, but had to wait until 21 November 1826 for the remaining £192 16s 6d (pp.84,143 and 246).

³⁴ HA, Bundle 665, Gillespie Graham to Duke, 22 December 1812.

³⁵ Adam 1812, plates 6-11.

In 1819 he obtained designs from the Neapolitan architect Francesco Saponieri (Figs.52-53).³⁶ These show what may, very loosely, be called the next stage of the development. The principal new features are a larger portico supported by six columns – two more than Adam – a rectangular (rather than curved) double staircase with a central fanlight, and much greater simplicity and uniformity (e.g. in the rustication and the use of triangular pediments, rather than alternating triangular and rounded pediments, on the first-floor windows).

The final solution arrived at by the Duke and Hamilton was a much more massive and grand version of Saponieri's proposal. Saponieri's general simplicity and uniformity have been retained, but the portico has been extended and is now supported by two rows of (unfluted) monolithic columns. The effect of this truly regal or imperial central feature has been balanced and strengthened by developing Adam's idea of emphasizing the ends of the building with four columns between the last three windows of the first and second floors. Both ends have now been pushed forward, heightened, and reinforced – rather than simply decorated – with two pilasters on either side of a single window at first- and second-floor levels.

The very uniform, grandiose effect has been given a little variety and relief by incorporating doorways with decorated lintels at the sides of the grand staircase and repeating the central fanlight at the ends of the building, at ground-floor level.

The features that obviously gave the Duke the greatest pride and pleasure – because they must have been disseminated by his employees to writers and journalists in the late 1820s-early 1830s – were the length of the building (263 feet, with a kitchen range on the west adding another 100 feet), the belief that the monolithic columns were the largest in Britain, and the use of Classical models. Writing around 1830, John Leighton begins his discussion of the new addition by noting that the front exhibits “an exceedingly splendid example of the Corinthian order, taken from the remains of the Temple of Jupiter Stator at Rome, one of the most enriched and correct of the ancient specimens of that order, which the rude hand of time has left us to admire and imitate.”³⁷

³⁶ HA, drawings 165 and 166.

³⁷ Leighton 1830, pp.39-40.

Understanding the Design and Subsequent Work on the Interiors

The finished building was probably the most intimidating non-military building ever erected in Scotland. It paid homage to the 10th Duke's grandfather, the 5th Duke, as a patron, and tidied up the past. More interestingly, it provided the 10th Duke with a very imposing version of an early eighteenth-century English country house such as Wanstead³⁸ or Wentworth Woodhouse,³⁹ which suggested that the Duke and his family were an integral part of the governing élite of England and crushed the very notion that he was an upstart (i.e. as a result of the break in the Hamilton line in 1799) and, indeed, an outsider in the Tory-dominated 1820s.

This aggrandisement reflected artistic taste *and* the Duke's reaction to what he perceived as attacks upon both his status and himself personally. Indeed, the extension to Hamilton Palace was designed, built and fitted out in direct response to challenges from the Earl of Aberdeen and Lord Douglas, difficulties with George IV, and claims of the Earl of Derby and Marquess of Abercorn.

Shortly after succeeding to the dukedoms, the Duke had been incensed to find that the 4th Earl of Aberdeen had been allowed to use the additional name and arms of Hamilton.⁴⁰ In early June 1819 he directed a blast of anger and sarcasm at the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool:

³⁸ Designed by Colen Campbell, Wanstead in Essex was built for Sir Richard Child, at great expense, between about 1714 and 1720 and was much admired in the eighteenth century. It was 260 feet long – almost exactly the same length as the new north front of Hamilton Palace – and also had a rustic basement and double staircase to the portico. The residence of the Prince de Condé after the French Revolution, Wanstead was inherited by the Child heiress Catherine Tylney Long, who was married to a nephew of the Duke of Wellington, and was the venue for a magnificent banquet, attended by the Prince Regent and Wellington, in 1814. Most of its contents were sold at a great sale in 1822 and the house itself was subsequently demolished. The 10th Duke bought a few items at the sale (see chapter 6) and pressed David Hamilton about re-using some of the materials at Wanstead. However, Hamilton sought to dissuade the Duke. Writing on 28 June 1822, he alleged: “there is little of it that could be used with propriety at Hamilton, except, it might be flooring. I think there is nothing valuable in the work, but what can be better effected at present; That house was built in Grinling Gibbons time, but I think there is none of his celebrated carving amongst the wainscoting” (HA, Bundle 606). Nevertheless, the Duke persevered with the idea of incorporating elements of Wanstead in Hamilton Palace, and on 7 October 1823 Robert Hume was obliged to apologize that he had “omitted to inform Your Grace that the small Saloon of Oak Work at Wanstead was Sold to a Gentleman in Bedfordshire” (HA, Bundle 602).

³⁹ Wentworth was built for Thomas Wentworth, later Marquess of Rockingham, slightly later than Wanstead, but was much larger, with a frontage of 600 feet, 365 rooms and five miles of passageways.

⁴⁰ Aberdeen had requested the royal warrant in memory of his first wife, Lady Catherine Elizabeth Hamilton (d. 1812), eldest surviving daughter of the 1st Marquess of Abercorn, but the application and grant were also bound up with his marriage, in 1815, to Harriet, Viscountess Hamilton, widow of James, Viscount Hamilton, the eldest son of the 1st Marquess of Abercorn.

My Lord

In my situation it cannot, I am sure, surprize your Lordship to receive these few lines; altho' perhaps it may surprize you, not to have received them sooner — I learn from the Herald's office, that the name of Hamilton has been so fortunate as to attract the notice of Lord Aberdeen, & that the Prince Regent, with that liberality that distinguishes his Royal Highness, has graciously made a sacrifice of it to the noble Earl — As I must presume that it is by your Lordship's advice that this measure has been adopted; I hope I may be allowed to ask your Lordship, if you consider my name, as one (without even the ceremony of communication to myself) that may be multiplied at pleasure, and disposed of, in favour of whomsoever may think proper to apply for it — When H: R: Highness was advised to confer this peculiar mark of honor upon my name, by adding to it that of Aberdeen, I am surprized your Lordship's kindness did not lead you to favour me with some intelligence of this so novel & so unusual a distinction — Your Lordship will excuse me, if I further request to know (& some impatience is excusable concerning honors in reserve) whether the list of Hamiltons still to be made is numerous, & whether your Lordship intends to recommend them to the clemency of H:R:H: the Prince Regent; as in that case, feeling my own unworthiness, I should hope your Lordship would not deem me indiscreet in soliciting a promise of your support; to obtain for me some other person's name, that may be disposed of without impropriety —⁴¹

On this was overlaid the friction and rivalry between King George IV and the Duke. The discord stemmed primarily from the Duke's sister's and brother's championship of George IV's estranged wife, Queen Caroline, as part of the radical Whig opposition to the King and the Tory establishment.

Lady Anne Hamilton, who had been a lady of the bed chamber to Princess Caroline in 1812-13, returned to her mistress as her lady-in-waiting and main female adviser in 1820. She accompanied Queen Caroline from France to London in May – June 1820, lodged her in her house, and corresponded with the Government about a settlement. Lady Anne and Lord Archibald supported the Queen during her trial for adultery in the House of Lords (August – November 1820).⁴² On the first day of the trial, the Duke asked the Attorney General “for whom he appeared, or by whose instructions”,⁴³ and he consistently voted for the Queen in the divisions. After the

⁴¹ BL, Add. Ms 38278, f.182, Duke to 2nd Earl of Liverpool, 8 July [1819].

⁴² Lady Anne and Lord Archibald are depicted close to the Queen in Sir George Hayter's huge painting of the trial, undertaken between 1820 and 1823, in the National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 999).

⁴³ Maxwell 1903, I, p.309.

trial collapsed, Lady Anne accompanied the Queen to a service of celebration at St Paul's in late November, while Lord Archibald moved a motion in the House of Commons against the omission of the Queen's name from the Liturgy in January 1821. George IV probably consigned the entire Hamilton family to the eternal fires of hell when Lady Anne had the effrontery to take part in Caroline's attempt literally to gate-crash his postponed, personally long-awaited and exorbitantly expensive coronation in July 1821. Lady Anne's total commitment to the "opposition" was demonstrated when she returned to the Queen (who had fallen out with her main supporters) and attended her during her illness and death and then escorted her body back to Brunswick the following month.⁴⁴

All this led to a very awkward situation when George IV came up to Edinburgh for his official visit in August 1822, especially as the Duke of Hamilton was hereditary Keeper of the royal Palace of Holyroodhouse, where many of the receptions and events had to be held.

George IV seems to have been ill at ease and tactless during the visit – for example, riding in a covered carriage, staying with the Duke of Buccleuch at Dalkeith Palace and surrounding himself with other Tories, and pleasing himself whether he attended events or not – while the Duke of Hamilton was agitated by Lord Douglas's challenge to his right to carry the throne of Scotland during the ceremonies, and whether his attire was correct.⁴⁵ The Duke was irritated to receive so little attention and respect from the King. He considered himself Duke of Hamilton, Brandon and Châtellerauld (in the peerage of France)⁴⁶ and heir to the throne of Scotland after the death of the last of the male Stewarts (Cardinal Henry) in 1807, and had actually ceremonially and physically handed over the royal Palace of Holyroodhouse and the crown of Scotland to George IV.⁴⁷

At the banquet given by the City of Edinburgh to the King in the Great Hall of Parliament House on 24 August, the Duke reacted by emphasizing his Whig credentials and independence. In reply to a toast to himself and the Peerage of

⁴⁴ More information will be found in Fraser 1996.

⁴⁵ See NAS, GD1/1018, Case against claim of Lord Douglas to bear the crown of Scotland on ceremonial occasions; *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 23 August 1822, p.131; Ilchester 1923, p.141.

⁴⁶ Papers relating to the Duke's attempt to gain recognition of the Châtellerauld title will be found in HA, Bundles 943 and 768.

⁴⁷ See Mudie 1822, pp.44-7 and 113-7.

Scotland he rose and declared – as the *Scotsman* reported (and also printed separately in the top left-hand corner of page one of the same issue) – that

there were none more anxious than he was to express, with warmth and sincerity, the cordial feelings which the occasion called for. None approached his Sovereign with a warmer expression of reverence and sincerity, and none was more anxious to maintain his duty to the King, without any subserviency however of political opinion. No one was more ready than he was to come forward and pay homage to the honour and dignity of the Crown; but at the same time he was not to forget the just and jealous care which he was bound to observe towards the rights and interests of the people under this free constitution. He felt a pride in showing every respect and honour to the person who wears the crown of these realms; but in doing so, he must not forget the respect due to himself; he must repeat, that he had duties also to maintain for the people, which were interwoven with the best rights and securities of the Crown, and which, in fact, formed the basis of the true power and constitutional glory of the Sovereign.⁴⁸

The King had left by this point, but the speech was poorly received. Sir Walter Scott (a Tory) castigated the performance:

The Duke's speech was delivered like a school-boy, and lest we should not be aware of his folly, he spoke it twice over in great trepidation, and yet with an air of his usual assumption. Eutrapel lines will describe him best.

He spoke as if he were b — t
And looked as if he smelt it.

His Whig friends, whom I scrutinised closely, showed great signs of distressful impatience, and Lauderdale covered his face with his hands. There was no applause, but a gentle murmur, which only respect for time and place prevented from being a decided hiss. In fact, though only drunk as the premier peer, and along with his brethren, he chose to consider the compliment as exclusively his own, and regulated his speech accordingly. The Duke of Athole and Earl Morton were both about to reply, but this extraordinary debate in the Upper House was luckily checked. I wish you had seen Ben-ie-Gloe [the Duke of Atholl] in particular. Morton got up and turned his back on the orator, and all the other peers seemed much annoyed.⁴⁹

George IV got his own back three days later. The laying of the foundation stone of the National Monument to the fallen in the Napoleonic Wars, on Calton Hill, had been organized for 27 August, in the belief that the King would add the lustre of

⁴⁸ *Scotsman*, 31 August 1822, pp.271 and 275.

⁴⁹ Walter Scott to J.B.S. Morritt, 7 September 1822, in Grierson 1934, pp.234-5.

his presence to the occasion.⁵⁰ There was to be an impressive procession and ceremony, attended by representatives of every Masonic lodge in Scotland and presided over by the Duke of Hamilton as Grand Master Mason of Scotland, but the King declined to attend. The Duke was only attending on sufferance, as Grand Master, because the previous year he had refused a request from the Secretary to the Committee to erect the Monument, to add his name to the subscription for the monument.⁵¹ The upshot was that the Duke was left to carry out his duties, including praising George IV as patron of the Masons, in the knowledge that this important and spectacular national event – the premier peer of Scotland, with his Masons and bands, beginning work on the National Monument, in the form of a copy of the Parthenon – was not deemed worthy of a few hours of “Fat George”’s time.⁵²

It must have been a very upsetting experience. The Duke must have felt insulted and felt the need to demonstrate his status, and the final version of the north front of Hamilton Palace can be seen – in part – as his response. It is not an attractive design but a hard-hitting counter-strike by a timid, not politically successful man who wanted the world to sit up and take note that he was premier peer of Scotland, Duke of Hamilton in the peerage of Scotland, Duke of Brandon in the peerage of the United Kingdom, claimant to the dukedom of Châtellerauld in the peerage of France, and rightful heir to the throne of Scotland on the basis of the 1st Lord Hamilton’s marriage to the daughter of King James II of Scotland and the 2nd Earl of Arran’s regency, as heir presumptive, during the childhood of Mary Queen of Scots.⁵³

⁵⁰ The Duke seems to have spoken to George IV about this well in advance: see Duke to Sir Robert Peel, undated, in BL, Add. Ms 40350, f.121.

⁵¹ Michael Linning wrote to the Duke on 20 September 1821, stating that the subscription was being sought because the committee wanted to lay the foundation stone during the King’s visit to Scotland the following year (HA, Bundle 772). In his short reply, recorded on the back of Linning’s letter, the Duke declined to add his name to the subscription: “Having disapproved of that war in principle at its commencement & constantly opposed it and its progress, beholding as I now do far & near the distressing consequences that have resulted from it I cannot consent to lend my name that which my conduct has invariably condemned ___”.

⁵² The ceremonies are described in the *Scotsman*, 31 August 1822, p.276.

⁵³ The Duke’s dislike of George IV would eventually be expressed in the “Epitaph on his present M ___ by me C H & B”, dated Hamilton Palace, 19 October 1828 (HA, Bundle 925):

Of Brunswick’s Line the fourth here lies
Sover’gn of Britain’s destinies ___
Ill fated Isle! Condemn’d to groan,
Under misfortunes not her own _
He govern’d, in Corruption bred,
Betraying all, himself by all betray’d:
With heart, too cold a friend to make,

The Duke's attitude and response would have hardened, in 1823,⁵⁴ when he learnt that Lord Stanley, the son of the 12th Earl of Derby and only daughter of the 6th Duke of Hamilton (and sister of the 7th and 8th Dukes of Hamilton), was contemplating challenging the succession of his father and himself, and by the galling knowledge – as he considered the challenge and pursued his claim on the duchy of Châtellerault – that he was neither heir of line of the house of Hamilton (which had gone to the future 13th Earl of Derby) nor heir male. The line of heirs male had descended through Claud Hamilton, 1st Lord Paisley (a son of the 2nd Earl of Arran) to the Earls of Abercorn, and the 2nd Marquess of Abercorn disputed the Duke's right to the duchy of Châtellerault, which had been bestowed on the 2nd Earl of Arran in 1549.

News, between November 1823 and February 1824, that George IV was going to carry out a major re-modelling of Windsor Castle, costing at least £300,000,⁵⁵ coupled with gossip about the King's intended even more expensive development of Buckingham House into Buckingham Palace,⁵⁶ must have made the Duke absolutely determined to construct a really massive palace, with early-eighteenth-century and Classical features, that emphasized his real status, gave visual credence to his claimed status and minimized his lost status.

Financing the Addition and Early Progress

Ironically, this projection of status based on the feudal past was made possible by the mining of coal on the Duke's lands, near Falkirk, and the profits derived from bringing tens of thousands of tons of black muck into coal-hungry Edinburgh on the Union Canal, which opened in 1822.

It is no exaggeration to say that the palace could not have been extended and built to such a scale and standard without the coal and canal. The rent from coal, lime and freestone on the Lanarkshire estate came to only £1,345 in 1821-22 and to £1,366

And head, to wear a Crown too weak;
Nor Nature's voice, nor Nation's weal,
E['] or v[er] moved his sullen soul to feel
Despis'd where Honor stands revered
He liv d & died, nor lov'd nor fear d ____

Weep Britains weep! your Monarch's fate;
He left no virtue to commemorate _____

⁵⁴ See Leighton 1920, p.303, and Grierson 1935, pp.265-6.

⁵⁵ See Roberts 2001, pp.13-9. The foundation stone of the new work at Windsor was laid on 12 August 1824.

⁵⁶ See Robinson 2000, p.55.

in 1822-23.⁵⁷ But by September 1823 the Duke's large coalfields at Brighton and Shieldhill, adjacent to the Union Canal, had been sufficiently developed that Brown and the Duke's other representatives were able to offer to bring 125,000 tons of coal into Edinburgh between 15 December 1823 and 15 December 1824, at the rate of 2 shillings and 3 pence per ton, provided the canal company did not charge anybody else more and there was no "unforeseen accident happening at the Colliery from Combinations of Workmen" or frost.⁵⁸

In September 1823 there was no real danger of a strike, but things changed dramatically over the course of the following year. Just as production reached about 8,000 tons a week in early December 1824,⁵⁹ the colliers struck for a seventy-five per cent wage increase. After an attempt in March 1825 by sixty-two men from Hamilton to break the strike, violent attacks on them and the arrest of some of those allegedly involved in the assaults, the miners eventually went back to work the following month.⁶⁰ Partly as a result of this setback, the Duke's mines never generated the 125,000 tons a year offered to the canal company.

This is obviously to jump ahead, but it throws up two key points: that it looked – when work commenced in 1824 – as though there was going to be a flood of money coming in from coal sales in Edinburgh that would easily pay for the building, fitting out and furnishing of this ambitious project; and that the situation became far less rosy quite quickly.

The construction of the new north block proceeded rapidly under Brown and the new clerk of works, John Connell, especially when one considers the quality of materials and craftsmanship. Only three years later, in early October 1827, Robert Brown was able to inform the Duchess:

⁵⁷ HTHL, Account of Charge and Discharge for the Hamilton Estate in Lanarkshire, Crops 1822 and 1823, unpaginated.

⁵⁸ NAS, BR/EGU/1/2, Minutes of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal Company, under 8 September 1823. The size and potential of the Brighton and Shieldhill coalfields had been appreciated many years before. A copy letter addressed to Robert Bauchop, the Duke's manager at Kinneil, dated 8 August 1816, notes "Both of these are extensive Coalfields, which may last for a century to come" (HTHL, HELB 1815-19, under 8 August 1816). The development of the fields was delayed by the Duke's absences in Italy between 1816 and 1821, and this is painfully evident in a copy letter from George Moncrieff to General Maxwell, of the Union Canal Company, dated 26 April 1821 (HA, Bundle 1776). For early plans of the mines, see NAS, RHP 10873, 10910 and 23415.

⁵⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 21 February 1825, p.2.

⁶⁰ See *Supplement to The Times*, 23 March 1825, p.2.

We are beginning to roof in part of the new Palace _ I mean the Main Building _ The lesser building is now compleated and a number of the new Rooms are furnished and ready for company _ and they are by far the most comfortable about the Palace.⁶¹

The Patron Changes his Mind and Robert Brown Sorts Things Out

Predictably, the main problem was the patron. In his letters of 1822, David Hamilton had stressed the need to agree the designs at the very beginning. However, the Duke seemed to think he had a blank canvas on which to paint. His blithe, almost cavalier attitude is apparent in a letter to Brown dated 28 July 1825:

I send you these few lines for your information & for that of M^r Hamilton's the Architect _ I do it now to correct any mistake in time; altho' I am persuaded I need not have mentioned what I am about to state, for any practical purpose, for some months ____
I am come to a resolution of lighting the tribune as was originally intended from above, & making a galery to communicate to the different rooms __ Tell this to M^r Hamilton: it will make little or no alteration upon what is now going on, but I wish him to know it now, as it may serve to give him some facility in regard to the water:closet intended to be placed behind the stair case _ He may now perhaps place it where the great window that looks into the kitchen court was to have been placed; that is in the two upper stories, for upon the ground story of course the window will be required to light the passage under this tribune for the servants _ Let M^r Hamilton know this determination of mine, as I am sure it will assist him not only in the waterclosets as I before stated, but in regard to getting up to the rooms above the dining room, the entrance of which will be difficult from the intended hight of the dining room _⁶²

These, though, were not minor matters, because they affected layouts, spans, loadings, foundations and plumbing, but much worse was to follow. The extent of the Duke's control and changes of mind are clearly revealed in the correspondence with Brown while he was in Rome in 1827. It is impossible to discuss all the issues raised in these letters, which range from the frosting of glass on the outside of the kitchen court and elsewhere, so that no one could look in,⁶³ to major structural changes, but all the main letters found to date are included in Appendix 11.

⁶¹ HA, Bundle 2722, copy letter Brown to Duchess, 8 October 1827. The only real problem seems to have been the use of some wet stone which deteriorated quite rapidly, but the necessary lesson appears to have been learnt.

⁶² HA, C4/99, Duke to Brown, 28 July 1825.

⁶³ HA, Bundle 2722, Duke to Brown, 1 March [1827].

The salient points to focus upon are the Duke's ability to request huge changes, without considering the full implications, and the way that it was left to Brown to implement as much as possible and tactfully explain what was unrealistic.

As late as 1827, the Duke felt free to suggest, if not demand, that the new staircase and entrance hall should be carried up to the roof, doing away with the planned bedrooms above them on the second floor. Regrettably, we do not have his initial letter, but he backed down over this at the end of March 1827.⁶⁴

This bright idea was no sooner laid to rest than the Duke proposed raising the heights of some of the new first-floor rooms and reducing the heights of the second-floor bedrooms. Once again, this was a fundamental matter that should have been thrashed out during the initial design phase. Now – hideously late in the day – the Duke pushed for the change, justified it by alleging that it would please his clerk of works, and then left it to Brown and Connell to resolve:

I say nothing more of carrying up the entrance Hall & great stair-case to the top of the House _ I gave up that idea in my last letter upon the representation you made to me upon the Subject; but I have my doubt whether or not it might not be better to have the new roof of the large new dining room, the library, the billiard, & the entrance hall and stair=case all raised up to the same heighth (the dining=room is decided upon already) & thus equally diminish the heighth of the bed rooms above the part of the house, leaving the other part of the house upon a regular level with the old building _ I am not positive about this alteration, but I think Connell will prefer it, to the making of so many different heighths in the upper flooring _ Thus there will be only two, but I leave this to Connell's & your judgment; it is of no material importance; the whole lower rooms (principal ones) will be loftier by this arrangement, & better, & the bed-rooms will suffer, but they will all be alike, & still handsome rooms, & high enough __⁶⁵

Remarkably, Brown did not tell the Duke that it was far too late for all this. His very long draft reply, dated 29 April, begins by noting how much had been completed: the west end of the addition had been raised above the second storey a few weeks before, the beams above the first-floor dining room laid, and the window “soles” and “cheeks” of the second-floor bedrooms built.⁶⁶ Carpenters were

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Duke to Brown, 31 March [1827]: “I shall say nothing more concerning the carrying up the stair-case & the hall to the roof; it would much beautify that part of the house, but it would certainly curtail the number of bedrooms, therefore we will let matters remain as they are __”.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Duke to Brown, 7 April [1827].

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, draft letter Brown to Duke, 29 April 1827.

currently engaged in laying the beams and joists of the bedroom flooring, while masons were about to complete the upper storey and move on to other areas. Brown then patiently explains that if the Duke's orders were implemented:

two thirds of the Bed Room Storey would be deformed in the inside by the lower Panes of the Windows being sunk 18 inches below the floor, and leaving only 5 feet of window above the floor _

Brown makes only the mild criticism:

It is a great pity that Your Grace and M^r Hamilton had not fixed definitely on every thing when the Plans were put into M^r Connells hands for changes now when the Beams are partly laid, the Holes in the Walls for the ends of the Joists made & the places for holding the Chimneys of the 3^d Storey partly built, will be attended with considerable inconvenience, and the misfortune is that we are arrived exactly at that point, that were it absolutely necessary to receive fresh instructions from Your Grace, we [must] stop the whole of the Building operations until an answer could be got from Rome _

All this was sufficient to tell the Duke nothing could be done and the work would have to continue as planned, but the ever loyal factor was prepared to carry out the Duke's implied request to the very best of his ability. He consulted David Hamilton, and, to avoid delay and dismissing at least half the workmen, informed the Duke:

we have resolved upon a plan which we are in hopes your Grace will approve of, as the only one that will enable us to meet your views _ and it is this _ To raise by an additional Course of Ashlar the Bed Room Windows, thus giving an additional elevation to the Building of at least a foot whereby the Bed Room Windows over the Dining Room will be nearly clear of the floor _ and in putting in the Beams thro every other part of the Bed Room floor of the House deep Slits or Ragles will be made in the Walls so as to enable your Grace too raise or lower the floors of the Bed Room Storey to whatever height you may wish the Ceilings of the principal Storey _ and this will be done in a way that will not in the least weaken the Strength of the masonry. _ The height of the Billiard Room Ceiling according to the present plan is 16 feet 4 inches, and by what we propose to do, you can vary from that, to any thing not exceeding 20 feet, and still leave tolerable Bed Rooms only you will require to have some steps from the New passage, down to the Bed Room floor of the Old House. _ M^r Connell says that he can easily make the pilasters the diameter of which are rather thicker than the due proportion for the original height to agree with the additional elevation proposed, and as to the Portico the Shafts of the Columns there by the present plan being 23 ft 11 inches will be lengthened out to 25 feet the Stones in the Quarry having been cut out

18 inches of greater length than what is necessary, and will admit of any additional thickness required for the extra height. _ M^r Connell says that two day's work will take out the Window Soles of the west end of the Upper Storey, and replace them _ Your Grace may be assured that it is with considerable hesitation that we mean to adopt the alteration proposed, but as you have in some measure given us a discretionary power about altering the height of the floors in question we think it our duty to adopt what we conceive will in the end be agreeable to your Grace, and at the same time an important improvement _

The correspondence reveals considerable "development" of the lantern of the Tribune, but earlier letters indicate that the Duke would have requested "improvements" in this area; and the Duke's request for the alteration of the ceiling heights of the first-floor rooms and its consequences stand out as his most alarming intervention during the construction of the north block.

The Interior Designs commissioned from Percier

During one of his stays in Paris in 1826 or 1827 the Duke commissioned Napoleon's former architect and designer Charles Percier (1764-1838), who with his colleague Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine (1762-1853) had more or less created the Empire style, to design interiors for the entrance hall (Fig.54) and some of the other principal rooms in the new block, including the Tribune and Dining Room (Figs.55-56).⁶⁷ It was an inspired move, which was closely linked with the bequest of the Borghese travelling service and its arrival in Paris and checking by Jean-Charles Cahier (the successor of the supplier Biennais).⁶⁸ Percier's very rich decorative scheme was based on his close study of the mid-sixteenth-century interiors in the Louvre and Fontainebleau, as well as his work for Napoleon, and complemented a palace associated with the granting of the French dukedom of Châtellerault by Henri II and a patron who was deeply interested in Napoleon and the Bonaparte family.

Sadly, nothing came of these magnificent designs. This is not really surprising. As we have seen, the Duke's normal procedure was to obtain a series of proposals

⁶⁷ HA, drawings 154-163.

⁶⁸ Laffitte and Company paid Percier 4,000 francs (presumably for the drawings) on 3 March 1828 and Cahier 412 francs and 50 centimes the next day: see HA, Bundle 683, Laffitte and Company's statement of the Duke's account for 1827-30, and Bundle 1005, Laffitte and Company to Duke, 4 March 1828.

and gradually to “develop” them. Thus one would not expect Percier’s (early) scheme to reflect a chosen, agreed option. It was probably intended as “grist to the mill”. The Duke may have had reservations about the decoration being too French and too Napoleonic, but the real stumbling stones were probably financial and logistical. Percier’s scheme was primarily sculptural, with supplementary historical, mythological and decorative painting, and therefore very expensive and difficult to commission and execute, to the necessary superb standard, in a few years. It required metropolitan, and probably French, sculptors and painters, and the Duke, quite understandably, put it to one side for future consideration when the structural work was completed and a stream of money became available.

Finishing the Addition

While Percier’s drawings gathered dust, the building work advanced. In mid April 1828 John Connell was able to inform the Duchess that the Corinthian capitals of the pilasters on the wings and portico had been carved and put up, one of the wings was nearly completed, and the other would be finished within the fortnight.⁶⁹

Connell concluded by noting that the large carriage for transporting the monolithic columns for the portico (Fig.57) was almost ready and that the columns, each weighing 24 tons, would be brought to the palace from the quarry at Dalpatrick over the next few weeks.

The last of the columns – now said to weigh 26 tons – was borne in triumph to the palace in a huge procession five weeks later, headed by the Duke and his family, “other Noblemen’s and Gentlemen’s carriages”, at least 200 friends and farmers on horseback, and two bands – as the *Glasgow Herald* and other newspapers recorded. Then came

The Duke’s Farmer, followed by 30 yeomanry, mounted
on 30 capital draught horses, harnessed three abreast,
drawing the carriage, on which was placed the
STONE,
On which were, a man standing in front, holding a
Ducal Coronet of evergreens and flowers, keeping
a look out before, another person acting as pi-
lot, and on the centre a herculean quarrier,
standing erect, with a flag-staff and

⁶⁹ HA, Bundle 694, Connell to Duchess, 15 April 1828.

flag, which he displayed to the
utmost advantage.⁷⁰

They were followed by 120 farmers, mounted two and two, another band, and “an immense crowd of Pedestrians”.

Despite a thundershower that started an hour earlier, the celebrations were witnessed by “not less than 15,000” spectators. Very sensibly, no attempt was made to raise the column and set it in place.

Later that evening, 320 gentlemen sat down to “a most substantial dinner” in the Assembly Rooms (now part of Low Parks Museum), presided over by Robert Brown, and there was a grand display of fireworks. A ball – attended by the Duke and his son, who left after one o’clock – went on until seven in the morning.

A huge amount had still to be done. There was still a lot of construction to be completed and the Duke was keen to carry out the dirty work involved with the renovation and “improvement” of the interiors of the old palace, in tandem with the completion of the structure of the new north block. This made sense, but it also meant that the whole palace was a building or work site for almost two years, between 1829 and 1831.⁷¹

It was at this stage that the Duke took the first of two decisions that were crucial to the final appearance of the palace. Because he wanted to restore and improve the oak-panelled Baroque parts of the palace, and emphasize the antiquity of the palace and the dukedoms, the Duke needed a reliable contractor who could undertake all the necessary repairs, additions, stripping, staining, varnishing and gilding (etc.) and he chose to rely on the London furniture-supplier Robert Hume Junior.

⁷⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 June 1828 (in Appendix 11).

⁷¹ The extent of the upheaval and the Duke’s priorities are conveyed in his letter to Brown dated 30 April 1831: “You inform me that Ramsay has boarded up my Rooms and is preparing to put in the Windows. I will not allow my coming to prevent his carrying on his work, therefore let him proceed; and tell M^{rs} Anderson that I will sleep up-stairs in one of Lady Susan’s Rooms, sit in the present Dining Room, and have the Room Opposite, on the other side of the Hall, covered with a Carpet, that I may turn it into a Dining Room. _ This I think will answer my Purpose, and the other Rooms will thus remain free, in the event of our friends coming to the Palace about the 14th inst. _” (HA, Bundle 1922).

Hume's father, Robert Hume Senior, and then Robert Hume Junior had worked for William Beckford and the Duke since the early nineteenth century,⁷² and Hume Junior had distinguished himself in the late 1810s-1820s, supervising the importation and passage through Customs of the Duke's Italian and French purchases and the production of the clock cabinet (now in the Gilbert Collection). As we shall see in the next chapter, Hume Junior had been the Duke's agent at the Fonthill sale in 1823 and other sales, and was very well placed to supply old and new items for the palace.⁷³

A formal memorandum dated 4 May 1829 records the work to be completed under David Hamilton, involving local men, and that to be undertaken by Hume and his London craftsmen. At this point, the architect was the main protagonist and Hume very much the secondary figure. His work on the Gallery, for instance, was limited to sending "people from London to execute the finishing coat [of plaster] and ornamental decorations" and directing "the painting gilding varnishing and finishing off of this apartment".⁷⁴ However, Hume was an insidious and omnivorous operator who encouraged the Duke to give him more and more work.

Hume's correspondence with William Beckford, in the Bodleian Library, shows him in control of the design of the ceilings in the Gallery, Tribune and Library and establishes that he was responsible for the very deep moulded ceiling and cornice in the Gallery (Fig.58).⁷⁵ One of the most interesting aspects of the correspondence is Hume's (sycophantic) use of Beckford as an artistic expert and the way that the Duke

⁷² On 14 August 1841 Hume thanked the Duke "for nearly 40 Years Favours & Friendship to my Father & myself" (HA, Bundle 753). On 6 March 1844 he remarked to Beckford that it was "near 40 years since I was carving the arms for the Palace" (Bod, MS. Beckford c.22, f.234). The earliest reference to the Humes' supplying furniture found to date is a statement by Hume Junior that "2 Carved Stands or Tables & an Indian Screen", about which the Duke had enquired, had been sent to Scotland on 31 August 1816 (HA, Bundle 2089, Hume to Duke, 17 December 1827).

⁷³ The Duke's earlier involvement with the Humes is summarily laid out in his account with "Robert Hume" for 1820-25 (HA, F2/1048/14) and notes about additional payments up to May 1829 (F2/1048/15 and 19). These and a list of "Works & Goods belonging to His Grace the Duke of Hamilton in the hands of Hume & Son" on 17 December 1827 (HA, Bundle 2089) will be found in Appendix 9.

⁷⁴ HA, M10/200, "Memorandums as to the finishing of the inside of Hamilton Palace and other improvements connected therewith; made out by the Duke of Hamilton in presence of M^r Hamilton Architect and M^r Hume of London", dated 4 May 1829.

⁷⁵ "The Palace Works are proceeding very well and those parts which are entrusted to me getting very forward, and it is much pleasure to add, every of the numerous Visitors Architects Inspectors & the Factor bestow unmeasured praise to the Gall^y Ceiling & Cornice which is nearly complete in the Plaster": Hume to Beckford, 11 September 1829 (Bod, MS. Beckford c.22, f.96).

acceded to an idea endorsed by Beckford. In October 1829 Hume asked Beckford for his help:

His Grace Talks of coming over very Shortly to run down to see the progress at Hamilton _ He seems very highly satisfied with the reports that have been forwarded to him, of the Gall^y Ceiling &c _ which I am doing for the Palace _ You being the King of the Science or Art of Emblems I most Humbly beg your advice as to whether & what Emblems would be most proper to place in these Pannels A.B.C _ at the end of the Gall^y in the ceiling over where the Dias or Throne will be placed _ in the other compartment of the great Squares there are the armorials _ Cinquefoils. de liese & mullet. I have mentioned the Arms & Two Crests but his Grace thought of an Apollo^s Head with rays _ then He left me do what I thought best ____ & I think best to Implore you to help me from the dilemma⁷⁶

On 7 November Hume informed Beckford that he had been with the Duke that morning and that “I spoke ab[ou]t the Arms & Crests & stated that you consider[e]d them most correct when his Grace at Once consented it should be so”.⁷⁷

In addition to employing Hume, the Duke decided to order two colossal black marble chimneypieces for the north wall of the Gallery (Fig.59) and an enormous black marble doorway for the west (entrance) end of the Gallery, which would also incorporate dark grey or black porphyry columns that he had obtained from Italy. They would have complemented the black marble chimneypieces that Duchess Anne is known to have ordered for the Baroque palace,⁷⁸ the black marble chimneypieces, tables and other items that the Duke had installed in 1810,⁷⁹ and Hume’s heavily moulded ceiling.

The massive black marble chimneypieces and door surround were obtained from David Hamilton, who undertook, in December 1829, “to have all the Work of the Door Peice along with the two Chimney Peices for the Gallery [...] ready for being put up by the first week of February” 1830.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Bod, MS. Beckford c.22, f.100, Hume to Beckford, 22 October 1829.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, f.104, Hume to Beckford, 7 November 1829.

⁷⁸ See Marshall 2000, p.206.

⁷⁹ See chapter 3, note 27.

⁸⁰ HA, C4/711, David Hamilton and Son to Duke, 21 December 1829. The “Memorandums” dated 4 May 1829 (HA, M10/200) do not specifically mention black marble but indicate that David Hamilton had been given the orders for these two chimneypieces and the doorway by this date. According to the “Memorandums”, he should have completed them by 4 August 1829 and erected the columns on the door surround by 1 September 1829.

During the mid 1830s the Duke would obtain two more colossal black marble chimneypieces and door surrounds from the London Marble and Stone Company (which was able to obtain much better black marble than Hamilton) for the first-floor Entrance Hall. This was on the other side of the north wall of the Gallery, and the Duke would eventually “continue” the black marble in the old west and east wings into the Gallery, through the Entrance Hall and down the grand black marble staircase (1840-45) and across the floor of his mausoleum (1845-56) to the black marble plinth on which his black Egyptian sarcophagus would rest.

There was certainly no carefully worked out masterplan for all this in 1830: it simply evolved. Nevertheless, we need to recognise that the chimneypieces and doorway in the Gallery were the essential, pivotal second stage in a quite exceptional use of black marble, which visually united the old and new parts of the palace, on the south-north axis, and acted as a foil to the (yellow) Sienna marble chimneypieces that would be installed in the New State Apartments.

We will return to the black marble in chapter seven, but we need to appreciate that between 1825 and 1832 the Duke was also developing plans to use white marble.

There may be a significant Masonic aspect to this (viz. the Masonic floor of black and white and its interpretation), but the Duke’s interest reflects competition with other patrons and a desire to use stone that would underline his Scottish identity and status. He must have learnt from Gillespie Graham and/or Brown that the 2nd Lord Macdonald had used (white) Skye marble in Armadale Castle for chimneypieces and the staircase and had intended to use it more extensively.⁸¹ As early as 1825 Brown was obtaining specimens of Skye marble from the 3rd Lord Macdonald’s factor,⁸² and in September 1830 he sent the mason Lawrence to quarry fifty tons of Skye marble for paving the Lower Entrance Hall and the entrances.⁸³ Fortunately Dr Macleod (Lord Macdonald’s factor) was able to supply at least forty-

⁸¹ Exactly what Lord Macdonald intended is very far from clear, but Alexander Nicolson says his original intention was to have constructed Armadale Castle from “the marble of Strath” (Nicolson 2001, p.239).

⁸² HA, Bundle 1818, John Macpherson to Brown, 15 July 1825.

⁸³ HA, Bundle 1903, copy letters Brown to Alexander Macleod and David Hamilton, 12 September 1830.

five tons (the cargo capacity of a small ship) from the stock quarried some years before.⁸⁴

The idea of using Skye marble – which had romantic Jacobite connotations and had never been used in quantity before – appealed to the Duke. In April 1831 he expressed a desire to use it to face the first-floor Entrance Hall and asked Brown, as “a particular favor”, if he would procure “an accurate Statement of what this Marble will cost” as

I think you will agree with me that if instead of its being as Cheap as the Stone, it were not to Stand me in more than an Additional Thousand pounds it would be well worth my while to adopt it _ The richness in the Appearance of the Marble will far exceed that of the Stone _⁸⁵

Two days later, the Duke wrote again to Brown and advocated building a road from the quarry to the shore to enable him to obtain the marble:

I should observe another thing in regard to the Skye marble _ I find that what I got was brought upon horses and mules backs to the shore by a circuitous road; whereas, should I resolve upon making use of the quarry again, the cheap & proper mode of going to work would be this _ To make a road from the quarry to the sea=shore directly: The distance is not above half a mile, & easily would this road be made serviceable; which when made would render the quarrying the marble one half less in expence _ This is the chief matter I suspect to be taken into consideration, as the marble itself is of little value upon the spot & easily quarried _ whilst the carriage must be troublesome & expensive ____ I moreover understand, if once a road is made, pieces of marble of any size might be got, with less difficulty than it would require to take the Stone out of a quarry ____⁸⁶

Four days later the Duke informed Brown that Connell estimated he would need 215 tons of marble or limestone,⁸⁷ and at this point the proposal probably began to run into real difficulties, because this was a very large amount of (flawed) marble to obtain in large sizes and in good condition in a short time.

As he had not planned properly, the Duke had to reconcile himself to using limestone to face the Entrance Hall.

⁸⁴ HA, Bundle 1906, Macleod to Brown, 4 November 1830.

⁸⁵ HA, Bundle 1922, Duke to Brown, 22 April 1831.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Duke to Brown, 24 April 1831.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Duke to Brown, 28 April 1831.

Similarly, only part of the decoration of the interiors could be completed to the planned running schedule, because of overexpenditure, shortage of funds and Brown's reluctance to incur further debt. Hume finished the Duchess's Apartments and the Gallery (including re-gilding the old picture frames), but his bill for £4,625⁸⁸ shocked the Duke, who wrote to Brown on 2 February 1831: "Mr Hume has half ruined us with his accounts. The sum paid to him is enormous, but I hope that we are now approaching to the end of this terrible expenditure."⁸⁹ This was very far from the case, as the Duke must have known, and Brown was swift to point out two days later. Hume's charges for the Dining Room, Billiard Room, Library and Tribune were likely to amount to at least another £6,000. Two accounts for the Middle Passage, old oak staircase and other areas would come to a "considerable sum". "Then there are the Bed rooms in the east end of the new Building to be begun estimated by Mr Hume to cost £4000 _ and the entrance hall God knows what _".⁹⁰

In the same letter, Brown reminded the Duke that the last £5,000-worth of payments had been "principally by borrowed money" and suggested postponing at least the remaining gilding "untill it is seen where money is to be got [...] to pay for it". The Duke accepted this on 6 February – "Some of the gildings & paintings I will postpone: the expence is too great"⁹¹ – and, the following day, Brown proposed that the Duke should merely undertake the "carpenter work" and plastering of "the Entrance Hall and the Rooms in the East end" and leave the gilding and other expensive fitting out until a later date.⁹²

The Duke evidently agreed, with the result that the completion of the Library, Billiard Room and Dining Room were delayed, and the decoration of the four New State Rooms postponed to what would become a later, separate phase.

Notwithstanding this, much of the building work and decoration of the old State Apartments had been finished by the time of the Duke's daughter's marriage to the Earl of Lincoln in November 1832. Lincoln's father, the arch-conservative Henry, 4th Duke of Newcastle, was the owner of Nottingham Castle and Clumber and was

⁸⁸ See HA, Bundle 665, copy of Hume's bill for the Gallery and Duchess's Apartments, dated 25 January 1831.

⁸⁹ HA, Bundle 1917, Duke to Brown, 2 February 1831.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, draft letter Brown to Duke, 4 February 1831.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Duke to Brown, 6 February 1831.

⁹² *Ibid.*, draft letter Brown to Duke, 7 February 1831.

then in the process of buying Hafod in Cardiganshire. Newcastle was not a man to be easily impressed by another aristocrat's country seat, but he noted in his diary:

This is a noble house _ everything on the grandest scale & in the most perfect taste _ It is difficult to know which most to admire the design or the execution _ both are so admirable _ I never saw so good, grand & faultless a house _ It is truly palatial _⁹³

For the first time, the enlarged palace was used as a real powerhouse. Many people came to celebrate the marriage. The wedding itself took place in the Tribune and, at the end, the couple and their families came out onto the Portico to receive the cheers of a huge crowd. Then they descended the great staircase, farewells were said, and the newlyweds drove off in their carriage, escorted by between 400 and 500 horsemen.

It must have been a truly never-to-be-forgotten day. The Glasgow photographer Thomas Annan's black and white photographs record what the North Front of the palace would have looked like in 1832 and show the Gallery more or less as it was finished by Hume and others in the early 1830s, but what is very poorly conveyed in these and other old prints of the Gallery, and of the Library, Dining Room and other rooms which were completed a little later, are the rich colours and gilding of these interiors.

Long exposures of the Gallery (Fig.58) give the impression that it was a dark and sombre room, but the archival evidence and Dibdin's account of the palace, published in 1838, reveal that this is a total misconception. Dibdin observes that

The first thing that your eye lights upon [in the Gallery], is the ceiling – upwards of eighty feet in length, divided into small square compartments, in the centre of each of which is a red fleur-de-lis (part of the Douglas arms) relieved by a blue ground – the whole laid upon gold.⁹⁴

According to Dibdin, the Library ceiling, which was gilded in 1834 (Fig.60), was “a blaze of gold – from one end to the other”, while the New Dining Room, also completed in 1834 (Fig.61), was of “yet more dazzling splendour”: “the ceiling being as it were embedded in gold.”⁹⁵

⁹³ UNMSC, Ne 2F 4/1, diary of the 4th Duke of Newcastle, 1831-34, p.169, under 25 November 1832.

⁹⁴ Dibdin 1838, II, p.803.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.802.

All this underscores the magnificence and splendour of the palace at the conclusion of the first part of the campaign of aggrandisement. However, it also highlights the Duke's increasing need for superlative, stunning, almost theatrical furniture and furnishings that would complement such a regal powerhouse, with richly gilt interiors.

We therefore move on to examine the Duke's great successes in these fields, which made Hamilton Palace not simply a very splendid and convincing powerhouse but one of the most amazing treasure houses of all time.

Furnishing Hamilton Palace, 1820-1832: The Acquisition of French Royal Furniture, Napoleonic Silver and Classical Sculpture to Promote Status

The 10th Duke of Hamilton acquired some of the finest French furniture and silver ever made, along with important Italian tapestries, bronze copies of Classical statues and porphyry busts of Roman emperors. This chapter examines the acquisition of these wonderful items and shows that the Duke's collecting walked and later ran in step with the building of the new North Front and the refurbishment of the palace. The basic contention is that the Duke's non-Italian collecting became much more focused as building work progressed; that he turned increasingly to Paris for items; and that he achieved some of his greatest successes between 1830 and 1832, when the construction was coming to an end and there was a very real need for truly magnificent silver and sculpture to adorn the greatly enlarged and much gilded palace. Between 1830 and 1832 the Duke was extremely fortunate to be able to buy, both in Paris and at the George Watson Taylor sale in Britain, items associated with the Emperor Napoleon, Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette, Francis I of France and the Roman Empire which served to underscore his status as premier peer of Scotland, Duke of Châtellerauld, and a territorial magnate of (apparently) enormous wealth.

Purchasing in Britain, 1820-1825: the Wanstead and Fonthill Sales

As we saw in chapter four, the 10th Duke acquired a large quantity of impressive material in and from Italy between 1817 and 1822 and one gains the strong impression that Italy was his preferred source, and that Britain and France were seen as secondary or supplementary sources in the late 1810s-early 1820s. This is partly confirmed by the Duke's surprising lack of involvement in the celebrated thirty-two-day sale of the contents of Wanstead House in June-July 1822, which was the first great country house sale in Britain after the battle of Waterloo. As we noted in the last chapter, the Duke was interested in Wanstead as a building and it seems to have had a definite influence on the new addition to Hamilton Palace. Yet, whereas the 6th Duke of Devonshire spent around a thousand pounds at the Wanstead sale,¹ the 10th Duke of Hamilton bought virtually nothing. Annotations on the bill from the

¹ Lees-Milne 1991, p.54.

auctioneer Robins² to the Duke's agent Robert Hume only definitely record the acquisition of an "elegant crimson-ground bordered Wilton Stair Carpet", twenty-two yards long and forty-five inches wide, in two pieces, with thirty-four brass stair rods, from the Grand Staircase and Vestibule, for a total of £28 12s.³ The Duke may have acquired the other items on the list – an ebony cabinet decorated with *pietre dure*, an "Agate" cup and four lots of porcelain – but, even if he did, his total expenditure would have been only £66 8s 6d. He let slip the opportunity to secure the Classical statues of Apollo, Domitian, Agrippina and Lucius Verus and the busts of Antinous, Philippus and others, along with a bust of Napoleon, that would almost certainly have attracted him in the 1830s and '40s.⁴

The Duke was prevented by his debts of about £90,000 and intention of enlarging Hamilton Palace from taking maximum advantage of the dispersal of his father-in-law's collections. On 3 September 1822 he informed Beckford's lawyer that he was unable to provide the funds and guarantees that would have prevented the sale of Fonthill and many of its contents.⁵

Nonetheless, the Duke intended to make a number of acquisitions at the planned 1822 Fonthill sale. He received "inside information" about items that would be sold and reserve prices from Gregorio Franchi, Beckford's Portuguese former boy friend and assistant, who was helping Beckford with the sale.⁶ Franchi was devoted to the Duchess ("ma chere souveraine") and had acted for the Duke in the past over acquisitions and other matters. Moreover, Franchi's loyalty to the Duke had been

² HA, F2/1048/2, bill for items bought at the Wanstead House sale by Robert Hume (in Appendix 9, with the relevant catalogue entries).

³ Robins 1822, p.156.

⁴ See *ibid.*, pp.107, 116-7 and 125.

⁵ See chapter 5, footnote 23.

⁶ On 8 September Franchi informed the Duke that, with the exception of the famous "Rubens Vase" ("le vase de Sardoine"), there were no reserve prices on the items on a list that the Duke had sent him. On 23 September, the day after Beckford had set the reserve prices on items that he was loath to part with, Franchi confirmed that the two wardrobes by André-Charles Boulle ("Les deux armoire de Bouhl") and the "Mazarin chest" ("le Grand Coffre de laque") would be sold and gave the reserve prices on twenty items or groups of items. They included the "Rubens Vase" (£400), the "Grande [*pietre dure*] table" now at Charlecote Park (£1,000), the "Cabinet de Lacque fait par Auguste" (£250) and two cabinets by Robert Hume (£500). Among the fifteen paintings were the *Laughing Boy* attributed to Leonardo (£1,500), the *Libyan Sibyl* ascribed to Ludovico Carracci (£400), *Doge Leonardo Loredan* by Giovanni Bellini (£300) and *The Virgin and Child with St John* by Perugino (£120). On 27 September Franchi alerted the Duke to the fact that someone was planning to offer £150 for the "Mazarin chest" ("le Coffre de laque") and requested permission to bid up to £160 for the piece. The correspondence is of interest because Franchi apparently kept his dealings with the Duke from Beckford and Hume and was prevented from giving an iota more than the Duke had stated in a previous letter: see Bod, MS. Beckford c.39, ff.88-91.

increased since at least 1820 by an allowance of £200 a year⁷ and mounting disillusionment with Beckford's tortuous path and indifference in disposing "all these objects" that he (Franchi) had "striven so hard to get".⁸

Unfortunately, nothing came of all this in 1822, because Beckford sold Fonthill and most of its contents to the eccentric gunpowder millionaire John Farquhar in October 1822. But when Farquhar decided to cash in on his speculative investment the following year, the Duke was ready with his list of *desiderata*. This evidently included the Japanese lacquer chest associated with Cardinal Mazarin, for which Franchi had tried to get permission for a larger bid in 1822, and the *armoires* by André-Charles Boulle, the *Laughing Boy* attributed to Leonardo and the *Libyan Sibyl* ascribed to Ludovico Carracci, which are also referred to in Franchi's 1822 letters.

The nineteen items and groups of items acquired by Hume for the Duke at the 1823 Fonthill sale⁹ are distinguished by their variety. They consist of prestigious works of art associated with important artists, makers and owners; pieces of Far Eastern lacquer and ceramics; and four sets of "rich crimson damask [...] curtains", which were evidently considered a "good buy".

The almost-three-metre-high *armoires* by André-Charles Boulle, dating from around 1710 (now in the Louvre) (Fig.62), were excellent acquisitions – even at 485 guineas – because the Duke needed large pieces of furniture to go in the Gallery and they complemented the late seventeenth/early eighteenth-century Baroque interiors.¹⁰ They were soon set up in the Gallery and were, either immediately or after the refurbishment of the old palace in the early 1830s, used to flank and "support" Rubens's *Daniel in the Lions' Den* and break up the flat appearance of the long north wall. The wardrobes were believed to have been owned by the great French

⁷ The Duke's notebook of his account with Hoare's bank, HA, F2/1046, records the following payments to Franchi between 1820 and 1823:

18 December 1820	£50	11 October 1822	£50
18 October 1821 ½ Yr	£100	4 February 1823	£50
14 December 1821	£100	7 April 1823	£50
1 April 1822	£50	7 July 1823 ¼ Yr	£50
5 July 1822	£50	6 October 1823	£50.

The Duke's account book shows that Franchi continued to receive payments up until his death.

⁸ Bod, MS. Beckford c.39, f.88, Franchi to Duke, 8 September 1822.

⁹ Hume's bill for the Fonthill sale in HA, Bundle 602, is correlated with entries in Phillips's *Catalogue of The Unique and Splendid Effects of Fonthill Abbey* in Appendix 9.

¹⁰ They had probably been purchased by Beckford from the London dealer Robert Fogg in 1814 and had been in the Great Dining Room at Fonthill.

connoisseur, the duc d'Aumont (1709-82), and their alleged provenance would certainly have appealed to the Duke – especially if he had known that Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette had bought many of the most expensive items at the d'Aumont sale in 1782.¹¹

The choice of paintings was also considered and logical – at least from the Duke's standpoint. From a very wide selection, the Duke chose works which were believed to be by two of the most venerated masters in the artistic pantheon. The “Leonardo” *Laughing Boy* (now at Elton Hall) (Fig.63) fitted in with his special interest in *quattrocento* and early *cinquecento* art and came in the wake of his acquisition of Pontormo's *Joseph with Jacob in Egypt* and, in all probability, other paintings of the same period; while the “Carracci” *Libyan Sibyl* (now in the Cavallini-Sgarbi Foundation, Ferrara) (Fig.64) appeared to fill an obvious gap in the Italian Baroque paintings assembled by the early Dukes of Hamilton and the Duke's own father.

These works were also very significant items in the context of the history of collecting and served to emphasize the Duke's own connoisseurship. Both paintings had been owned by major British collectors besides Beckford. The *Laughing Boy* had belonged to Sir William Hamilton, for whom the Duke had a very high regard, while the *Sibyl* had been in the collection of the 1st Marquess of Lansdowne. They joined and “reinforced” Signorelli's *Circumcision of Christ*, which had also been in the March 1806 Lansdowne sale, and Rubens's *Loves of the Centaurs*, from Sir William Hamilton's collection, that the Duke had bought in 1810.

Moreover, both works were very high-profile items in the early 1820s and their purchase, at 985 guineas and 360 guineas respectively, demonstrated the Duke's (apparently) large resources and taste. They had been the only two Italian Old Master paintings lent by Beckford to recent exhibitions organised by the British Institution (in 1818 and 1821) and were given eight- and eleven-line entries in the Fonthill catalogue, which were exceeded or matched – among the Italian paintings – only by

¹¹ The duc d'Aumont had been *Gentilhomme de la chambre* to Louis XV and one of the four dukes supervising the manufacture and supply of furniture and furnishings for the French royal households. At the d'Aumont sale, Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette bought 56 lots, costing 251,420 *livres*, which made up over sixty per cent of the 383,322 *livres* realized by the 447 lots. Unfortunately, this excellent provenance seems to be incorrect. The *armoires* do not match the descriptions of the five lots of Boulle furniture in the d'Aumont sale or entries in the *Inventaire après décès du duc d'Aumont*.

the thirty-line write-up on the “St Jerome at devotion” by Veronese, from the monastery of St Benedict at Mantua, and the ten lines on “The Interview between Job and his friends” by Salvator Rosa.¹²

The correspondence reveals that Franchi was involved with the 1823 sale, but he was not in such a central, influential position. Hume clearly believed that he had a good relationship with the Duke and could act with some latitude:

M^r Franchi told me to buy the Laughing Boy, not exceeding 1005 £ I have given 985 Gs. or £1034.5. also I have Bo^t the Sybilla, at 378 £ if Your Grace will be pleased to take them I shall feel the greatest Pleasure in forwarding them to Hamilton Palace as I have taken upon myself the responsibility of Purchasing these Pictures beyond the Sums M^r Franchi mentioned I must take the Consequence of Keeping them if I have done wrong. ¹³

In addition to the *armoires* and paintings, the Duke also bought nine lots of 117 Chinese and Japanese porcelain plates, the Japanese export lacquer chest associated with Mazarin (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum)¹⁴ (Fig.65), a Japanese “idol”,¹⁵ and two colossal Chinese porcelain vases decorated with scenes of the manufacture of porcelain.

The prices paid for the plates (which come to only £20 5s), coupled with Hume’s comment that he had bought “Several Dozens of Plates at from 3 to 4 Shillings p[e]r Dozen”,¹⁶ suggest that they were partly seen as cheap functional or decorative pieces; but the whole group shows that the Duke had a much deeper interest in Far Eastern material than has been appreciated up until now. The Duke spent a total of £322 3s on these items, and one of Hume’s letters records that he wanted to acquire at least one other Far Eastern piece; Hume mentions that the Duke

¹² See the Fonthill sale catalogue, 26th day, 14 October 1823, lots 269 and 183 respectively.

¹³ HA, Bundle 602, Hume to Duke, 15 October 1823.

¹⁴ This had been bought for Beckford at the sale of the collection of the duc de Bouillon in 1800. There has been considerable confusion between the Bouillon/Fonthill chest and another, larger, Japanese lacquer chest which was also in the Hamilton collection and was subsequently owned by Sir Trevor Lawrence. As Oliver Impey and John Whitehead have shown, the measurements indicate that the Bouillon/Fonthill chest is the “Mazarin chest” now in the V&A: see Ostergard 2001, pp.222-6. The “Mazarin chest” seems to be associated with Cardinal Mazarin on the basis of the arms of the Mazarin-Meilleraie family on the key.

¹⁵ 1882 HPS, lot 1319: “A Figure of the Japanese Idol Amida – on gilt stand and wood plinth – glass shade. From Fonthill”. It sold to W. Boore for £131 5s.

¹⁶ HA, Bundle 602, Hume to Duke, 30 September 1823. This was either an exaggeration or, more likely, an error due to Hume using the dealer E.H. Baldock to bid for the ceramics and not being fully informed about the hammer prices.

had authorised him to bid up to 12 guineas for a Chinese bronze, and that he had gone up to 16 guineas and then given up.¹⁷

The Duke's interest in Japanese and Chinese items reflects the very clear influence of Beckford, who had amassed one of the greatest collections of Oriental lacquer of all time and also owned many very fine pieces of furniture decorated with Japanese lacquer. These items must have made a huge impression upon the Duke (and also the Duchess); and through Beckford – who had lived in France both before and after the Revolution and had bought many of his best pieces in or from France – the Duke would have learnt of the very high value placed upon Oriental ceramics and lacquer by the most discerning French collectors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

It is most unlikely that the 1823 Fonthill purchases were the first notable Oriental pieces to enter the Duke's collection, and it is fascinating to find the superb French secretaire and commode with panels of Japanese lacquer by Adam Weisweiler (Figs.66-67) in the State Bed Room of Hamilton Palace as early as 1825.¹⁸ These pieces are of such exceptional quality that they almost shout a link with Beckford. They do not seem to have come from the Fonthill sale, but it is possible that they were owned by the great collector and were either given to his daughter Susan or sold at some other time.

The secretaire and commode prompt us to look much more closely at the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory. The "2 Japan Cabinets with marble Tops most neatly done metal gilt companions made by Williams", valued at £400, in the State Drawing Room,¹⁹ seem to be the pair of cabinets incorporating panels from the Japanese lacquer "Buys box" of the 1630s, which was commissioned by Beckford from the Vulliamy firm and supplied in 1803 (now at Elton Hall) (Fig.68). This interpretation appears to be supported by an apparent reference to the cabinets in

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Hume to Duke, 29 October 1823.

¹⁸ The pieces are recorded in the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory, under "State Bed Room", as: "A rich french Commode of black & Gold japan ornamented with bronze, a bureau to match the Commode [£]600" (HA, M4/70, p.32). They are described in more detail, still in the Old State Bed Room, in the later inventories, and were sold by Sotheby's, *The Keck Collection*, New York, 5 December 1991, as lot 55, for \$2,860,000.

¹⁹ HA, M4/70, p.28.

James Storer's *Description of Fonthill Abbey* (published in 1812) and their absence from John Rutter's *Delineations of Fonthill and Its Abbey* (published in 1823).²⁰

Other potentially promising pieces in the 1825 inventory appear to be the "Large Japaned Screen brought from Rome", valued at £80, in the Music Room, and two more "Japaned" or "Japan" screens, valued at £60 each.²¹ There is also the possibility that "votre magnifique Coffre", referred to by Franchi in August 1821,²² was the "Lawrence chest" (whereabouts unknown),²³ which was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale and was of almost the same quality as the "Mazarin chest".²⁴

All this testifies to the 10th Duke's clear interest and ownership of Oriental ceramics and lacquer. It shows that the two great secretaires and the commode by Jean-Henri Riesener decorated with Japanese lacquer, which were bought in 1832, were added to a collection that already contained at least three major pieces, and probably more than twice that, and were not a radical new development in 1832.

The acquisition of the huge porcelain vases, which are stated in the 1823 Fonthill catalogue to have been owned by "a distinguished personage of rank in Portugal", is recorded in a number of letters and reflects not only the Duke's interest in these objects, but also a rather stupid determination to have them as a matter of principle, even when he knew that they were badly damaged. According to Hume, the vases were "unfairly" auctioned by Phillips and were bought in.²⁵ Hume had engaged another leading dealer-supplier, Edward Holmes Baldock, to bid for the vases and thought Baldock could acquire them for about 130 guineas.²⁶ However, Phillips wanted £200.²⁷ Baldock subsequently informed Hume that the cracks in the vases were "much worse" than he had imagined and advised Hume to "decline taking

²⁰ See Roberts 1986.

²¹ HA, M4/70, pp.5 and 29 respectively. One of these may be the screen now at Petworth.

²² Bod, MS. Beckford c.39, f.87, Franchi to Duke, 30 August 1821.

²³ 1882 HPS, lot 1165, and Christie, Manson and Woods, *Catalogue of the Collection [...] formed by Sir Trevor Lawrence Bt, K.C.V.O.*, 29 May-1 June 1916, lot 262. The chest is illustrated in *Apollo*, CXLVII, March 1998, p.6.

²⁴ The 1825 inventory records that the "Mazarin chest" was placed in the First Dressing Room, the room directly after the State Bed Room containing the secretaire and commode (M4/70, p.34). Consequently, the "Lawrence chest" would have to be either the "Chinese Trunk & Stand", valued at £100, in the Duchess's Bed Room at Hamilton Palace (*ibid.*, p.17), or in another Hamilton residence if it was in the Hamilton collection as early as 1825.

²⁵ HA, Bundle 602, Hume to Duke, 27 October 1823.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Hume to Duke, 17 and 18 November 1823.

them”.²⁸ Hume sent Baldock’s letter to the Duke, but the Duke insisted on his right to have them,²⁹ and was willing to pay £136 for gravely flawed pieces in order to triumph over Baldock, Phillips and any other opposition.³⁰

It is an instructive exchange of correspondence because it corroborates the main argument that the Duke’s collecting was primarily about status, rather than connoisseurship and aesthetics.

In retrospect, the Duke did very well to acquire the *armoires* and the lacquer chest, which are internationally important pieces. He also gained kudos for buying the *Laughing Boy* and the *Libyan Sibyl*. However, the first is now attributed to Bernardino Luini, while the second was actually painted by the Ferrarese artist Carlo Bononi,³¹ who was heavily influenced by Ludovico Carracci. These downgradings do not reflect well on the Duke’s “eye” and show him responding to names and provenances, rather than to brilliant brushwork.

Parisian and other French Purchases, 1826-1827

The Fonthill sale is of great importance for students of Beckford and the history of collecting, but we must not become preoccupied with it. As the husband of Beckford’s daughter and an important collector in his own right, the Duke had to take part in the sale, but the fact is that he bought relatively little at or from Fonthill. The truth is that Fonthill was an atypical foray and that the Duke relied increasingly, during the 1820s, not on British sales and sources, but on Parisian merchants and auctions for furniture and other goods.

A number of items besides the ormolu stands by Dénier were acquired from Paris in the early 1820s, but the flow became a flood in 1826. A long shipping list drawn up by the Parisian packer and shipper Chenue in May 1826 records fourteen crates of furniture, fittings and other pieces.³² Unfortunately, there is little detailed information about these items, but the consignment included “une Cheminée en

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Baldock to Hume, 18 November 1823.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, undated draft letter from the Duke to Hume.

³⁰ These seem to be lot 466 in the 1882 sale. One of the vases is illustrated in the 1882 catalogue, but a clearer view, which seems to include men handling small dishes, is to be found in Christie, Manson and Woods’ *Catalogue of the Collection of Christopher Beckett Denison*, 24 June 1885, lot 1480.

³¹ The *Sibyl* was painted by Bononi for the Oratory of the Conception of the Virgin Mary adjacent to the church of San Francesco in Ferrara, and was sold to John Udny in or after 1772: see Sgarbi 2004, p.352. I am much obliged to Professor Peter Humfrey for this reference.

³² HA, F2/1065/2, Chenue shipping list, dated 22 May 1826.

Marbre de chez Vâlin”, “une grande Commode d’acajou”, “1 petit bronze Louis 18”, “1 Pendule de chez Rolland”, and three pairs of candlesticks.

Rolland’s name appears again, as “Roland”, on this list and on a shorter related list³³ and it seems that he was one of the main suppliers in 1826. The principal item currently associated with him is the *Régence* eight-light ormolu chandelier, measuring approximately 110 x 97 centimetres, which is believed to be the “Lustre de boule en bronze doré” that the Duke purchased “par Mr. Rolland” on 26 March 1826 for a total of 900 francs (Fig.69).³⁴

What emerges from the Hamilton papers is that the Duke used Jean Quinet, his former valet and the current steward at Holyroodhouse, to ensure that acquisitions were safely sent from Paris and also to conclude or arrange other acquisitions after he had departed.³⁵ Thus, Quinet was responsible for buying and sending a “magnificent bureau” which was bought from Max, “Marchand d’Objets d’Art et de Curiosité, Rue Royale Saint-honore”, in September 1826 for 1,200 francs. The idiosyncratic bill describes the purchase as:

Le Magnifique Bureau provenan de Monsieur le Duc de Choiseuille et fait par le Célébre Ébéniste Riesnère Ce Meuble de la plus par faite conser[v]ations avec son Cerre papié[r] surmontée de sa pandule Le tout ornié de Bronze biens doré³⁶

These pieces are the *bureau plat* and *cartonnier*, with parquetry panels, attributed to the duc de Choiseul’s principal *ébéniste* Simon Oeben (now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly) (Fig.70), of about 1765-70, which are depicted in the Cabinet à la Lanterne or Cabinet Octagone in the Hôtel Choiseul, in Paris, in one of the miniatures by Louis-Nicolas Van Blarenberghe on the famous “Choiseul Box”.³⁷ They were apparently shipped from Paris in January 1827 and are the “one writing table & porte papier both inlaid wood & guilt” recorded on the Duke’s note of items

³³ HA, Bundle 665.

³⁴ See Christie’s, *Succession d’un Amateur Mobilier et Objets D’Art*, Monaco, 5 December 1992, lot 41.

³⁵ See Quinet’s letters to the Duke between December 1826 and April 1827 in Bundle 1001. This was not a new development, as the Duke had deployed Quinet as his agent in Paris in 1824: see Quinet’s letters to the Duke in Bundle 731.

³⁶ HA, F2/1064/37. The reverse is annotated: “1826. Septembre 9. Recue de M^r Max pour le Bureau de M^r de Choiseuille – 1200. –”. In the record of his payments, Quinet notes the purchase under October 1826: see F2/1064/34.

³⁷ Watson 1963, fig.3 and p.12, and Bloomquist 2004, pp.57-8 and fig.5.

that Quinet had sent from Paris and were in Hamilton Palace in 1827.³⁸ All three pieces were placed in the new Library, where they are listed as “An Inlaid Mahogany table ornamented with Gilt Bronze and Bronze Frame Duc de Choiseuil [£]130” in the 1835 inventory, with the added annotations “connected with it is” before “Duc” and “Bureau with a time piece” after “Choiseuil”.³⁹

The Duke acquired many more items in Paris the following year. Some involved individuals with whom he was already acquainted and were therefore comparatively easy acquisitions. A letter from Quinet dated 6 December 1826 records that the Duke was interested in furniture in the estate of the artist, dealer, restorer and curator the Chevalier Ferréol de Bonnemaïson (1766-1826), who had acted as his agent in obtaining the David portrait of Napoleon in 1811-12.⁴⁰ Bonnemaïson’s widow was willing to sell “les deux Colon[n]es de Boulle” in December and these equate to the pair of pedestal-cabinets attributable to André-Charles Boulle (Fig.71), which were eventually purchased in February 1827 for 3,000 francs. However, Madame Bonnemaïson would not sell “la Commode de Bull” in December. Subsequent letters indicate that the commode could probably have been bought for a large sum before the Bonnemaïson sale in April.⁴¹ But the Duke waited until the auction and was duly rewarded. His agent, Rouget, purchased the commode, which is stamped by Levasseur and is believed to have been delivered to the bedchamber of the comte d’Artois (the youngest brother of Louis XVI) in the Hôtel du Grand Prieur du Temple in 1777 (now at Versailles) (Fig.72), for only 4,401 francs.⁴²

Similarly, the Duke turned again to Dénrière, who had made the massive Louis XIV-style bases for his porphyry slabs in the early 1820s, and had apparently supplied a piece of furniture with gilt mounts in 1826,⁴³ and obtained four candelabra

³⁸ HA, Bundle 731, Chenue’s shipping list for 19 December 1826-26 April 1827, and M4/70, p.185.

³⁹ HA, Volume 1223, p.131. The filing cabinet and clock are just visible in Annan’s photograph of the Library (Fig.60).

⁴⁰ HA, Bundle 1001, Quinet to Duke, 6 December 1826. Ronald Freyberger drew attention to these two purchases, but not to Quinet’s letters, in his article “Eighteenth-Century French Furniture from Hamilton Palace” (Freyberger 1981). The pedestals themselves are described and discussed in Christie’s *Important French Furniture from a Private Collection*, New York, 21 May 1996, lot 359.

⁴¹ See HA, Bundle 1001, Quinet to Duke, 14 February and 2 March 1827.

⁴² Arizzoli-Clémentel 2002, pp.87-9.

⁴³ Chenue’s May 1826 shipping list (HA, F2/1065/2) appears to record “un Meuble en bois de rose [i.e. tulipwood] garni de dorrure de Chez M^r Dénrière” in crate 13.

made of malachite with Egyptian figures and light fittings of ormolu, costing 6,800 francs, and four “Bouquete de Lumiere” priced at 860 francs.⁴⁴

The candelabra seem to have been an addition to an existing set because the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory records “4 Malachite Candle Stands ornamented with gilt”, valued at £150, in the Gallery,⁴⁵ while the 1835 inventory lists “8 Malakite and Gilt Bronze Candlesticks”, valued at £400, in the Gallery.⁴⁶

Entries in the 1853 inventory⁴⁷ and the 1882 sale catalogue⁴⁸ indicate that they were all the same model and therefore support the attribution of all eight to Dénier. They were very arresting pieces, with the malachite serving to remind people of the Duke’s involvement with Russia and the Egyptian figures of his interests in Antiquity and Freemasonry. Christie’s 1882 catalogue describes them as “Candelabra, of or-molu, with branches of classic design for three lights each, supported on Egyptian figures of the same and square columns of malachite – on oval stands of antique serpentine, and massive square pedestals of malachite, with or-molu mouldings – 32 in. high”.⁴⁹

The Boulle-related chandelier and the three pieces from the Bonnemaïson collection augmented the *armoires* from the Fonthill sale and enabled the Duke to start competing with George IV, the Duke of Wellington, the 3rd Marquess of Hertford and other British collectors, who had already built up very good collections of turtleshell-brass “Boulle” furniture.⁵⁰

That said, the 10th Duke’s most important, definite acquisition of this period was the marquetry commode or chest of drawers attributed to the sculptor and *ébéniste* Charles Cressent, of about 1730 (now at Waddesdon Manor, near Aylesbury), which is decorated with ormolu mounts of boys, branches and birds

⁴⁴ HA, Bundle 2089, bill from Dénier for 1827 (with an outstanding charge from 1823 and other charges for 1827). Around this time Dénier was also playing a leading rôle in the restoration of a very important Empire-style boat bed, with two almost life-size gilt wood figures. This is also associated with Rouget and is discussed in Appendix 9.

⁴⁵ HA, M4/70, p.1.

⁴⁶ HA, Volume 1223, p.109.

⁴⁷ “8 Very fine Malachite Candelabra for 3 lights each with richly chased gilt metal Figures and nosles &c on top of Tables”: HA, Volume 1228, p.133.

⁴⁸ The eight were divided into four pairs and sold as lots 654-657. Lot 654 was described, while lots 655-657 were simply listed as “A Pair – Similar” or “A Pair of Ditto”.

⁴⁹ 1882 HPS, lot 654.

⁵⁰ See Watson 1975 and Aldrich 1998. Wellington had acquired nineteen pieces of “Boulle” furniture by Etienne Levasseur and others from Bonnemaïson in 1818, and the Duke of Hamilton was buying three first-rate pieces from the stock/collection of a dealer who had specialized in “Boulle” furniture.

(Fig.73).⁵¹ The piece is clearly recorded, albeit incorrectly, in a list of items the Duke states he sent from Paris “a little previous” and were in Hamilton Palace in 1827: “one bureau, with a tree & boys in bronze guilt in relief”.⁵²

The Waddesdon commode stands head and shoulders above comparable chests of the first half of the eighteenth century and is one of the very best examples of the early rococo style in the decorative or applied arts. Yet it is a surprising acquisition for the 10th Duke, because it clashes with his preference for ponderous magnificence and his otherwise obvious, marked aversion to the frivolous rococo style. One could view the purchase – for purchase it must be – as a simple acknowledgement of the sheer quality of the work, but it also seems likely that the Duke would have believed that the decoration would have amused his daughter, the very spoiled Susan (“Suzie” or “Toosey”), then aged thirteen.⁵³

The 1827 Italian Acquisitions

The Duke’s final visit to Italy in 1827 resulted in another large tranche of Italian purchases. Many of the big, heavy pieces are recorded on a list written by the Duke in Rome on 30 June 1827⁵⁴ and a list of “Cases arrived from Rome in 1828”, which is also in his handwriting.⁵⁵ They show that the Duke’s taste for tables, columns and other pieces in marble, porphyry and granite was as strong as in the late 1810s-early 1820s and that he was still acquiring material from the Braschi collection. However, there now appears to be a more pronounced emphasis on items with interesting associations and provenances.

A “testa” of the first great poet, Homer, in black and white marble,⁵⁶ and three panels of red Egyptian granite, from the Braschi collection, associated with the red Egyptian granite Column and sculptured pedestal of the Roman Emperor

⁵¹ For a description and discussion of the commode itself, see de Bellaigue 1974, I, pp.200-6.

⁵² HA, M4/70, p.185 (see Appendix 9).

⁵³ One wonders whether the Duke and his family realized that the boys are represented catching birds on branches smeared with gum. For Susan’s upbringing and character, see Surtees 1977.

⁵⁴ HA, F2/1069/7 (see Appendix 9).

⁵⁵ HA, F2/1069/8 (see Appendix 9).

⁵⁶ The “testa” is listed, as “The Bust of Homer in Black Marble”, as an addition to the New Sitting Room in the 1835 inventory (see HA, Volume 1223, p.136) and was sold at the 1882 sale as “A Bust of Homer, in basalt – on bronze socle” (lot 1005) to Agnew and Sons for £99 15s.

Antoninus Pius in the Vatican,⁵⁷ enabled the Duke to highlight his Classical knowledge and project power and might, while the “famosa tazza” or “vaso” associated with Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and the three “Tavolin[i] di Firenze di casa Doria” linked the Duke and the House of Hamilton with leading patrons and families of the sixteenth century and suggested flattering parallels. The chimneypiece given by Cardinal Fesch to the Duchess must have been a particularly welcome present, as it was a large visual acknowledgement of the Duke’s close involvement with the Bonaparte family and helped promote the idea that he was a major player on the world stage.

All this fits into a pattern. But the lists are also very revealing because they show that the Duchess and her daughter were also acquiring items and that less grandiose and, indeed, poor pieces were entering the Hamilton collection at this time. According to the Duke, the Duchess acquired “Un tavolino tondo di mostre di pietre” or a “Tavolino tondo [...] di marmi intarziati”, while Susan had become the owner of a smaller, similar “Tavolino”.⁵⁸ Very few of the items on the lists have been identified and traced with certainty and it is therefore particularly interesting to relate “Una testa d’Alabastro orientale (un leone)” to lot 1424 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, which was bought at the auction by what became the National Museums Scotland (Fig. 74).⁵⁹ This is actually an indifferent contemporary carving – apparently a spurious “antiquity” – which the Hamiltons (and the Museum staff) should have realized was “wrong” and unworthy of a place in their collection.⁶⁰

The Acquisition of the Ottoboni Tapestries

The Duke’s visit to Italy seems to have precipitated one of his pre-eminent Italian acquisitions the following year: eight of the fifteen tapestries representing scenes from Torquato Tasso’s epic poem *Gerusalemme Liberata*, which had been

⁵⁷ The three panels of Egyptian granite may have been used as table tops in the Tribune and/or the Dining Saloon: see HA, Volume 1228, opposite pp.95-6 and 98, with the annotations “a portion of the broken columns of the Parthenon” and “Part of the Parthenon”.

⁵⁸ It is possible that these works correspond to “A Fine Piece of Mosaick work pigeons and Cup by Geo: Angeloni”, valued at £80 (with the addition “after one at the Capitol at Roome”), listed in the Duchess’s Sitting Room, and/or the “2 Stude of Mosaick, by Jacques Raffailly, (Birds)”, valued at £5, in Lady Susan’s Dressing Room in 1835: see HA, Volume 1223, pp.93 and 85 respectively.

⁵⁹ The piece is described in the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.163) as “a Lions Head of oriental alabaster in black frame”. It is still in its black frame and is now NMS, A.1882.31.11.

⁶⁰ Worryingly, the Duke had this in his bedroom from at least 1835 until his death, presumably as a prized item.

woven for Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667-1740), the great-nephew of Pope Alexander VIII and Vice-Chancellor of the Papal State, by the San Michele manufactory in Rome in the 1730s and hung in his official residence, the Palazzo della Cancelleria.⁶¹

The tapestries may have been under consideration in 1827, because in early November 1827 the Duke's good friend Count Leopoldo Cicognara refers to "la descrizione delle tapezierie ricamate" and cites sums of 1,000 *zecchini* a piece or 1,000 *scudi* "di tutta la Stanza".⁶² In mid May 1828 Cicognara reminded the Duke about the "bellissimi Arazzi del Poema del Tasso" in the "Casa Foscarini".⁶³ According to Cicognara, two had been made in the "Fabbrica di Gobelins e sono anche li più grandi e tutti gli Altri della Fabbrica di Roma a S. Michele a Ripa". He gives a price of 35,000 francs for the two "Gobelins" tapestries but fails to give a straightforward figure in francs for the Ottoboni tapestries.

A scrap of paper in another bundle lists ten of the Ottoboni tapestries and is annotated by the Duke with indications that he wrote to Cicognara about them in June 1828 and was wanting to acquire eight of the panels for 15,000 francs: "scritto al Conte Cicognara Juigno 1[?7 or 9] _ 1828" and "dando per li 8 pezzi 15m _ franchi ma non di più".⁶⁴ The purchase must have gone ahead because the Duke's notebook of his transactions with Hoare's bank records two payments to the Schielin bank in Italy, of £268 4s and £300, under 2 October 1828, and has the addition "for Count Clignara" between the two entries and an added bracket that links these words and the two sums.⁶⁵

It therefore appears that eight tapestries were bought in 1828 and shipped to Britain later that year or early in 1829. This is corroborated by two letters written by Cicognara to the Duke in June and August 1829, which record that Cicognara still

⁶¹ For a discussion of the commission and the tapestries themselves, see Standen 1982 and Standen 1985, II, pp.776-85.

⁶² HA, Bundle 1002, Cicognara to Duke, 3 9bre 1827.

⁶³ HA, Bundle 1125A, Cicognara to Duke, 14 May 1828. In the letter, Cicognara says they had been owned by "Zoppo Foscarini", who had left them to a friend. The working theory is that they had been in the Palazzo Foscarini, Campo dei Carmini, Dorsoduro, or the Palazzo Foscarini-Giovanelli on the Grand Canal.

⁶⁴ HA, Bundle 2067: see Appendix 14.

⁶⁵ HA, F2/1046, unpaginated p.80. The incorrect spelling of Cicognara can be explained in a number of ways but may have been due to the Duke's very bad eyesight around 1828-31.

had seven (“gli altri sette” and “li residui sette”) of the (fifteen) tapestries.⁶⁶ Cicognara hoped to sell the second batch to the Duke, but as he had to remind the Duke about the tapestries, and only touched upon them in a few sentences, it seems unlikely that he succeeded.

The tapestries the Duke bought are probably the “9 Pieces of Tapestry for room Walls” valued at £900 listed in the high-value textile store, “N^o., 4 Kitchen Court over the Scullery Locked up key kept by M^{rs} Hastie”, in the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory.⁶⁷ Any major problem with the number “9” and the association of these tapestries with the Ottoboni series is allayed by the added note “In Tapestry Rooms” beside the entry, because the Ottoboni tapestries were eventually displayed in the New State or Tapestry Rooms in the palace. They were not actually hung there, or hung there finally, until 1845, and only eight were on display – and, indeed, included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

The “titles” and canto and stanza references on the list help us to identify the tapestries, ascertain which tapestries hung in which room, and also correct some of the views expressed by Edith Standen (the former expert on tapestries at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) in 1982 and 1985.⁶⁸

Basically, the list records:

Godfrey chosen to lead the Crusade

Aladin hears of the Crusaders’ Approach

Sophronia’s Defiance

Clorinda rescuing Sophronia and Olindo

The Crusaders reach Jerusalem

Armida prepares to go to the Crusaders’ Camp

The Combat of Clorinda and Tancred

An unidentified tapestry of Godfrey finding the body of Gernando

Erminia and the Shepherd

The Combat between Tancred and Argante

There is no mention of two tapestries – *Armida in Godfrey’s Tent* (canto 4, stanza 77) and *Godfrey addressing the Followers of Dudone* (canto 5, stanza 2) (both

⁶⁶ HA, Bundle 1125A, Cicognara to Duke, 13 June and 7 August 1829.

⁶⁷ HA, Volume 1223, p.171.

⁶⁸ See footnote 61. Information about the dimensions and later histories of these tapestries will be found in Appendix 14.

now in San Francisco Opera House) – which Standen believed had “probably” or “possibly” been in the Hamilton collection.

The 1853 and 1876 Hamilton Palace inventories record three Ottoboni tapestries in the Sitting Room, two in the second room, the State Bedroom, and three in the third room, the Dressing Room.⁶⁹

Two photographs taken by Thomas Annan (Figs.75-76) show that the three tapestries in the Sitting Room were *Erminia and the Shepherd* (Metropolitan Museum),⁷⁰ *Clorinda and Tancred in Combat* (formerly owned by the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh),⁷¹ and *The Combat between Tancred and Argante* (West Dean College, Chichester).⁷²

These tapestries correspond to lots 1915, 1914 and 1916 in the 1882 Hamilton palace sale.⁷³ The next two Ottoboni lots, lots 1918 and 1919, came from the adjacent room, the State Bedroom (as Christie’s clearly sold all the tapestries in the New State Rooms in the “correct” room sequence).⁷⁴ Lot 1918, catalogued as “by Ferloni” and 12 feet by 19 feet 4 inches, would have been *The Crusaders reach Jerusalem*, which is signed by Ferloni and measures 12 feet 5 inches by 19 feet 6 inches; while lot 1919, described as 12 feet by 10 feet 3 inches, was *Sophronia’s Defiance*, which is 12 feet 4 inches by 10 feet 6 inches. Both are now in the Metropolitan Museum.

The last group of Ottoboni tapestries in the 1882 sale, lots 1922-1924, came from the Dressing Room and consisted of *Armida prepares to go to the Crusaders’ Camp* (whereabouts unknown) (Fig.77)⁷⁵ and two tapestries described as 12 feet

⁶⁹ See HA, Volume 1228, pp.110, 112 and 115.

⁷⁰ On the entrance or west wall.

⁷¹ Opposite the windows, on the south wall. This was sold by Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, 24 June 1977, lot 79.

⁷² On the chimney or east wall, leading to the State Bedroom.

⁷³ Lot 1914 is catalogued as signed by “Nouzou” (a mistake for Nouzon) and 12 feet x 20 feet 10 inches and equates to *The Combat of Clorinda and Tancred*, which was about 11 feet 6 inches x 19 feet 7 inches in 1977. Lot 1915 is described as by “P. Ferloni” and 12 feet x 15 feet 3 inches and corresponds to *Erminia and the Shepherd*, which has lost its guards and was 11 feet 11 inches x 15 feet around 1982. Lot 1916 was stated to be 12 feet x 10 feet 4 inches and must, by a process of elimination, be *The Combat of Tancred and Argante*.

⁷⁴ Not only does the lotting of Ottoboni tapestries match the numbers in each of the rooms, but the lots of overdoor tapestries correspond to the three in the Sitting Room, three in the Bedroom and four in the Dressing Room recorded in the later inventories.

⁷⁵ This was catalogued in 1882 as signed “Nouzou” and dated 1735 and measuring 12 feet x 21 feet 6 inches. It was sold in 1960 with the same signature and date and measurements of 10 feet 6 inches x

square and 12 feet by 11 feet: *Aladin hears of the Crusaders' Approach* (Metropolitan Museum), which is 12 feet 2 inches by 11 feet 6 inches, and *Clorinda rescuing Sophronia and Olindo* (West Dean College).

We therefore now have what can safely be regarded as the “core group”.⁷⁶

The real dividend to all this detective work is that we can now see that the Ottoboni tapestries forced the Duke to re-assess his requirements and collecting. From 1828, he was obliged to acquire furniture which would complement the Ottoboni tapestries. This obviously necessitated buying pieces upholstered with tapestry or embroidery and low, colourful items (which would not obscure the main narrative scenes), and had the consequence – because of the availability of such items – of pushing him towards Louis XV and Louis XVI furniture.

Furthermore, the presence of herms on the left- and right-hand sides of the tapestries stimulated the Duke to acquire more items decorated with herms, caryatids and similar figures. An obvious example of this is the black lacquer secretaire with caryatid corner mounts now in the Getty Museum (Fig.85), which was purchased in 1832, but the herms on the tapestries also influenced him to commission the Atlantes (1837-42) (Fig.93) that appeared to support the passageway directly opposite the great black marble staircase (1840-45).

The Duke very ostentatiously “ran” black marble through the palace, but he also used Atlantes and herms to provide another form of “continuity” and displayed them, with statues, sculptures and other pieces decorated with figures, to clever, repetitive effect.

In the final version of the “work of my whole life” (as the Duke described the palace⁷⁷), visitors entered the North Front at ground-floor level and passed the gigantic Atlantes. They began to climb the great black marble double staircase, watched by porphyry and basalt busts of three Roman Emperors, and were confronted by the Atlantes. At the top of the stairs, with the Atlantes below them, they could turn right into the Tapestry Rooms. Here they found the sixteen smaller

21 feet: see Sotheby's, *European Glass, Oriental Rugs and Carpets, Tapestries and English Furniture*, London, 29 April 1960, lot 105.

⁷⁶ It seems most unlikely that the Duke acquired more than eight tapestries, but if he did, then, on the basis of the list, one would expect them to have been *Godfrey chosen to lead the Crusade* (the first entry on the list, which is partly crossed out) and/or the unidentified tapestry of Godfrey finding the body of Gernando.

⁷⁷ See HTHL, HELB 1848-50, pp.174-9, William Leighton to Charles Ranken, 27 March 1849.

herms on the Ottoboni tapestries and the ormolu female figures on the Getty secretaire in the third of the four rooms, the Dressing Room.

If people turned left at the top of the marble staircase, they ran the gauntlet past five life-size bronze copies of Classical statues in the Upper Entrance Hall and a small table with ormolu boy herms by Dénière in the centre of the Tribune. Walking straight on, they entered the west wing and encountered the two large porphyry tables with stands with more boy herms by Dénière in the Breakfast Room and Drawing Room and the superb French secretaire and commode, decorated with Japanese lacquer and ormolu full-length female figures and herms of boys, in the Old State Bedroom.

The impact of all this was increased by the other statues and busts on the ground and first floors, by the figures of Aspasia and Socrates on the Boulle *armoires* and Egyptians on the Dénière candelabra in the Gallery, and by small bronze statuettes and other “figurative” works.

The acquisition of the Ottoboni tapestries was a pivotal moment in the development of the Hamilton collection. It goes a long way towards explaining the move away from collecting “Boulle” to late eighteenth-century furniture by Riesener and other leading Parisian *ébénistes* and *menuisiers*, and encouraged the Duke to acquire more “herm”-related items and statues and sculpture generally.⁷⁸

The Golden Years of Collecting, 1830-1832

Bearing this in mind, we come to the greatest period of the Duke’s collecting: 1830-32, when he acquired the “tea service” made for Napoleon and Marie-Louise in 1810, at least five of Jean-Henri Riesener’s most sublime pieces of furniture (including four made for Marie-Antoinette), five bronze copies of Classical statues then believed to have been made for Francis I of France, and the porphyry busts of the Roman Emperors “Augustus” and “Tiberius”.

⁷⁸ The purchase of the tapestries also partly explains the rash of schemes involving caryatids, herms and Atlantes in this period, which include the design for a chimneypiece in the Entrance Hall with either caryatids or herms, Hamilton’s proposal for caryatids “supporting” the lantern of the Tribune, and a painted ceiling with caryatids in the Tribune: see HA, drawings 87, 89 and 88 respectively. These are all second-rate and the Duke wisely moved on to explore other possibilities. The desire to “continue” herms through the palace also goes a long way towards explaining why so much effort went into acquiring the white marble chimneypiece formerly owned by Sir Gregory Page-Turner, in the late 1820s-early 1830s. This had four herms and was installed in the New Dining Room (Fig.61).

It has to be said that the Duke was incredibly fortunate that the completion of the north block and restoration and improvement of the old palace, and his two-year buying spree to furnish and fit out all the rooms, coincided with so many exceptional opportunities. He was able to take advantage of the Bourbons' willingness to sell the tea service of the Emperor Napoleon and the financial embarrassment of the recent purchaser of the bronze statues in 1830, the death of the owner of two pieces made by Riesener for Marie-Antoinette and their appearance at auction in 1831, and then the bankruptcy of George Watson Taylor in 1832, which yielded at least two more Riesener/Marie-Antoinette pieces, a pair of large *pietre dure* cabinets by Hume, the two porphyry busts of "Augustus" and "Tiberius" and four other important items from the recently assembled, astonishing collection at Erlestoke Park, near Devizes.

The Duke's first great *coup* came in May 1830 when he acquired the silver-gilt "tea service" which had been supplied by Martin-Guillaume Biennais in connection with the marriage of the Emperor Napoleon and the Archduchess Marie-Louise of Austria in 1810 (now divided between the Musée du Louvre and the National Museums Scotland) (Fig.78).⁷⁹

The service had been in storage since 1814/15 and could not be used by the Bourbons because it was impossible to remove the blatant Napoleonic references without ruining the pieces.⁸⁰ This seems to have been officially accepted, as Jean-Charles Cahier, Biennais's successor and the official goldsmith to Charles X, had submitted an offer to buy the contents of the two chests for 10,739 francs 19 centimes.⁸¹

Exactly how the Duke learnt of the service is not known, but it seems likely that he was alerted to its existence by the architect Charles Percier, who had designed most of the principal pieces. As we saw in the last chapter, Percier had been working on interior designs for Hamilton Palace in 1827 and had been paid 4,000 francs the

⁷⁹ The service is discussed in Poole 1977. Poole publishes the French royal household side of the sale of the service in 1830, but the material relating to Percier and Garnaud in the next five paragraphs is the result of my own research. For information and illustrations relating to individual items, see Dion-Tenenbaum 2003, pp.47-72.

⁸⁰ The arms of the Bourbons are engraved on both pairs of sugar tongs, indicating that they have either been re-engraved and re-gilt or are replacements. The court officials realized that it would have been well-nigh impossible to have removed the arms of the former Emperor, initial "N"'s for Napoleon, profile heads of Napoleon and other Napoleonic/Imperial references (e.g. eagles and bees) from the other pieces.

⁸¹ Poole 1977, p.391.

following year. During the first two months of 1829, Percier had provided the Duke with recommendations for a good *menuisier* and a *serrurier*.⁸² In January 1830 he was engaged in designing a mausoleum for the Duke and wrote to “Monsieur le Duc”, expressing undying gratitude for the gift of a “draperie Ecossaise”:

I do not know how to convey my gratitude for the parcel I have just received from you. It is impossible to show more kindness and concern. I will carefully and religiously look after the Scottish drapery; it will keep warm the body of your indebted servant. As for his heart, as long as it holds any warmth, it will be devoted to Your Grace.⁸³

In short, Percier was both able and willing to assist the Duke and knew that the Duke would have loved to own the most important Napoleonic silver service ever made, especially if it was available at a low price.

Whether one accepts this line of reasoning, a letter written by a M. Le Duc to the comte de La Bouillerie, *Intendant général de la Maison du Roi*, dated 5 May 1830, states that some foreigners had made an offer of 17,000 francs for the service. Le Duc recommended accepting the offer, because it was considerably more than Cahier had been prepared to pay. Five days later, Charles X gave his approval, and on 11 May La Bouillerie authorised Le Duc to sell the service “aux personnes étrangères”.⁸⁴

Nothing more is currently known from the papers in the Archives Nationales, but a bill in the Hamilton archive reveals that on 17 May Louis-Jacques Garnaud, jeweller to the Dauphin and the duc de Berry, made out an account for 19,500 francs for the service and a further 95 francs for mending and gilding two salt cellars (presumably the pair of double salts surmounted by figures of Venus) and for two strainers.⁸⁵ The fact that the payment for the service went through Garnaud indicates that he was the link with Le Duc, but we are left wondering and speculating about the “difference” of 2,500 francs between the agreed purchase price with the French royal household and Garnaud’s charge.⁸⁶

⁸² See HA, C3/328, 329 and 330, Percier to Duke, 28 January and 26 February 1829, and Fontaine to Percier, 26 February 1829.

⁸³ HA, Bundle 1002, Percier to Duke, 20 January 1830.

⁸⁴ Poole 1977, p.391.

⁸⁵ The bill (HA, Bundle 660) is in Appendix 9.

⁸⁶ There is insufficient space to discuss this properly, but the difference of 2,500 francs can only be explained as (1) a very large charge for commission or profit, (2) reimbursement for payments to

The Duke followed up this amazing acquisition with the purchase of five bronze copies of the Classical statues of the *Apollo Belvedere*, *Diana of Versailles*, *Belvedere Antinous*, and *Hercules and Telephus* (all now displayed outside the Huntington Library, San Marino) and the *Borghese Gladiator* (whereabouts unknown) (Fig.79). They were believed to have been cast in Italy for Francis I of France, but are now attributed to the French sculptor Hubert Le Sueur (c.1580-c.1660), who had produced a similar *Gladiator*, and probably casts of *Diana*, *Antinous* and *Hercules and Telephus*, for Charles I in the 1630s (all now at Windsor Castle).⁸⁷

According to a letter from the dealer La Neuville dated 5 9bre 1830, the Duke had inspected the statues and been shown a record of their purchase by their owner, M. Mazard himself, before he left for England a few months earlier.⁸⁸ Around this time, he was apparently given – either directly by La Neuville or via Quinet – a printed promotional “Notice sur cinq Statues en Bronze par M.^r de Roquefort, Membre des Sociétés royales de Goettingue et des Antiquaires de France”, with illustrations of all five statues, which alleges that they had been made for Francis I and been at the “Château de Villeroi”.⁸⁹

The reference to the château and a “Nota” at the end of the “Notice”, mentioning “Nicolas Neuville”, suggest that the casts were the set owned by Nicolas de Neuville, marquis de Villeroi, rather than Louis Phélypeaux, seigneur de la Vrillière. Both men had commissioned casts of the *Diana of Versailles* and *Hercules*

others involved in the acquisition of the service, or (3) the cost of the additional silver-gilt pieces that the Duke definitely owned by December 1833, and possibly by December 1831 (i.e. the 24 table spoons and 24 table forks, assayed between 1809 and 1819, and the 12 plates, 12 spoons and 12 forks in a small morocco case: see HA, M12/5/17, Inventory of Plate taken at Hamilton Palace, 13 December 1831 and 9 December 1833, unpaginated, as “Napoleons Gilt Plate, continued”). As Garnaud lists the small sums relating to the salts and strainers separately, one would have expected any additions to the service to have been itemised on the bill. The Duke subsequently bought other items from Garnaud, and a letter from the jeweller to the Duke dated 22 February 1833 records the purchase of “vingt quatre couverts” and other pieces (HA, Bundle 1002). All the additional Napoleonic flatware is in the National Museums Scotland. The plates were included in Sotheby’s sale of *Fine English and Foreign Silver*, 18 November 1976, lot 163, and were apparently struck with the maker’s mark L.N.N. (for L.N. Naudin).

⁸⁷ Avery 1982, pp.148-9 and 178-9.

⁸⁸ HA, Bundle 1002, La Neuville to Duke, 5 November 1830. Quinet was clearly involved in this purchase. La Neuville begins his letter: “As you were about to leave for England, your steward talked to me of your intentions concerning the five bronze statues I had the honour of showing you. I showed them to him also, so he could all the better report to you, along with the note I gave him. At his invitation, I made fresh enquiries of the owner and you will find the result below.”

⁸⁹ HA, F2/1069/40.

and *Telephus* from Le Sueur in 1648 and apparently subsequently acquired casts of *Apollo*, *Antinous* and the *Gladiator*.⁹⁰ The five Neuville statues are recorded in the park at the Château de Villeroy in the 1780s⁹¹ and must be the set proposed for the Louvre by the merchant Baron in 1797, Fournier in 1810 and Dumoulin in February 1829.⁹² This is indicated by de Roquefort's third paragraph – "Pendant nos troubles politiques, ces Bronzes ont été vendus, un ami des arts les acheta pour en faire hommage au Musée d'une grande ville. Sa mort empêcha l'exécution de ce noble projet" – and is confirmed by the note "S'adresser pour en traiter à M^r, Dumoulin, Propriétaire" between his main text and the "Nota". Consequently, the location "Orléans", given by Bresc-Bautier for the statues in 1829, can probably be expanded to "Rue Neuve d'Orléans, No. 18 Porte St. Denis" (the address given for the works on de Roquefort's "Notice").

In 1829 the set of statues being considered for the French national collection – which must be the set owned by Mazard – was assessed by a commission that included the sculptor David d'Angers. The commission valued the five sculptures at 80,000 francs,⁹³ but this was evidently considered to be too large a sum and the proposal fell through.

Dumoulin's failure to get the Louvre to buy the statues was very bad luck for Mazard. From what La Neuville says, it appears that Mazard had bought the casts for 28,000 francs about five years before and incurred interest charges of 7,560 francs, storage fees of 1,500 francs and transport costs to various places of 150 francs over the past five years. Finding himself "in extreme need of money six months ago", Mazard "wished to be replaced by a new purchaser". By 5 November 1830 he had spent at least 37,210 francs on the statues, but on that day La Neuville "managed to get him to agree to 30,000 francs net".

At present, it looks as though the Duke refused to agree to this and kept to the figure of 25,000 francs mentioned in his notes for Quinet at the end of June 1830 and

⁹⁰ See Bresc-Bautier 1985/87, pp.44, 48 and 53-4.

⁹¹ Dulaure 1786, II, pp.318.

⁹² See Bresc-Bautier 1985/87, p.45.

⁹³ This valuation seems to have been communicated to the Duke because the 1853 Hamilton Palace inventory has the added pencilled note that the statues were "Cast for Francis Ist to decorate his palace of Villeroi – Cast in Italy in the 16th Century, and were valued at 80,000 francs – £3,200 – in 1826" (HA, Volume 1228, opposite p.106).

Quinet's letter to the Duke dated 12 July 1830.⁹⁴ On 12 April 1831 Mazard signed a receipt for "Vingt Cinq mille Francs" from "Monsieur Laneuville";⁹⁵ and the Duke's payments to Laffitte & Company at the end of the month are annotated "£1044 ,, 3 ,, 8 value of frcs. 26000. for Mons^r Laneuville as to order 6 april".⁹⁶

The Duke acquired a bargain, as far as prestigious works were concerned. During his lifetime (and, indeed, well into the twentieth century), the statues were accepted as major works commissioned by the principal French monarch and patron of the Renaissance. The Duke seized their potential and placed them in the Upper Entrance Hall of Hamilton Palace. They became the first items people saw, after climbing the grand ceremonial (outside) staircase or the black marble staircase, and trumpeted the regal quality of the collection. On a more subtle level, the statues served as an ever present, inescapable reminder that the Duke of Hamilton regarded himself as a French Duke and that the duchy of Châtellerauld had been established in the 1540s – as well as making a huge contribution to the "sculptural continuity" discussed earlier.

The Napoleon tea service and the bronze statues are just the two most important acquisitions that were made or underway in 1830. Other highlights include the gilt bed, *canapé* and ten *fauteuils* bought by Quinet from Bonnet, "Grand Bazar", Rue St. Honoré, on 12 July for 1,820 francs (£75 16s 8d);⁹⁷ and the ebony commode decorated with ormolu mounts and a circular Sèvres porcelain plaque painted with flowers, that Quinet had purchased from J.L. Lherie, "Au Bassin d'Or", Rue Vivienne, for the surprisingly large sum of 4,900 francs (£204 3s 4d) three days earlier.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ HA, Bundles 498 and 1069.

⁹⁵ HA, Bundle 1000.

⁹⁶ HA, Bundle 924, Duke's account book for transactions with Hoare's bank, 1829-39, unpaginated.

⁹⁷ HA, Bundle 498, bill from Bonnet made out to Quinet, 12 July 1830. There is some additional description of these pieces on Chenue's shipping list dated 15 July 1830 (in the same bundle) which records that the bed had a "Baldaquin" and "14 pièces tapisserie des draperies". A "Memorandum of Pieces of Tapestry", dated Hamilton Palace, 15 September 1830 (HA, Bundle 2092), listing "1 large Piece for Canopy of Bed with three Pieces of Festooned Drapery attached" and twelve other pieces, seems to relate to the Bonnet bed and to corroborate the link with the bed subsequently in the New State Bedroom.

⁹⁸ HA, Bundle 498, bill from Lherie made out to Quinet, 9 July 1830. The Duke had instructed Quinet to pursue this piece in his "Notes pour Quinet" dated Paris, 27 and 28 June 1830, which are in the same bundle. Lherie had wanted 6,000 francs, Quinet had offered 4,500, and 4,900 was the compromise (see Quinet's letters to the Duke, dated 30 June and 12 July 1830, in Bundle 1069).

Bonnet's "Lit en bois doré" seems to be the Neo-classical *lit à la duchesse* (bed with a flying tester), with Gobelins tapestries, which was set up in the New State Bedroom in the early 1840s⁹⁹ (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York¹⁰⁰) (Fig.80); while the commode is probably the "Beautiful Cabinet from Versailles of the time of Louis XIV with a beautiful round Piece of ~~China~~ Painted Porcelaine of Sevre", valued at £300, listed in the New Sitting Room in 1835.¹⁰¹ (As will be realized, the Hamilton Palace inventory-takers had no idea what was Louis XIV or Louis XVI!)

It would be worth discussing some of the other items, but space precludes this. The essential point that needs to be made here is that the Duke was buying a very large quantity and range of items from Paris in 1830. The Hamilton archive records furniture, textiles, porcelain and other ceramics, and even kitchen moulds and gilt hinges, being acquired in the French capital;¹⁰² and, prior to 10 June 1830, the Duke ordered "a large Quantity of superb silk" from Lyons for the Duchess's Rooms.¹⁰³

During this period the Duke clearly wanted to acquire as many luxury goods and other products as possible from France.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ This was described in the 1853 inventory as the "magnificent Carved and gilt [6 foot wide] French Bedstead with massive Dome top & D^o Cornices gilt inside and out, the Furniture of the finest Gobelin Tapestry as having belonged to Lewis XIV" (HA, Volume 1228, p.111).

¹⁰⁰ See Standen 1985, II, 564-7. Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide has recently been able to relate the rare tapestry bed-hangings to a set produced by the Gobelins workshop in 1782-83 and believes both the bed, which bears the mark of Georges Jacob, and tapestries were made for César-Gabriel de Choiseul, duc de Praslin (d.1785) or his son.

¹⁰¹ HA, Volume 1223, p.133. The cabinet is described in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale catalogue (lot 993) as: "The Versailles Cabinet, of ebony, with a circular plaque of Sèvres porcelain in the centre, painted with a basket of flowers, surrounded by four crowns, and four chasings of scriptural subjects in relief in or-molu, and rich mouldings of the same, surmounted by a verde antique marble slab". It sold to G. Attenborough for £262 10s and has still to be traced.

¹⁰² See the receipts and shipping lists in HA, Bundle 498, and Volume 1223, p.3.

¹⁰³ Bod, MS. Beckford c.22, f.115, Hume to Beckford, 22 June 1830. The cost of these and other French textiles was very great. The Duke's account book (HA, Bundle 924) records that "Damask" for the Duchess's "room &^{con}" cost 20,509 francs, which came to £886 14s 6d (entry under 8 October 1830).

¹⁰⁴ It must be noted, however, that he seized the offer to buy the "Auguste Cabinet" and an ebony and mosaic cabinet with a red marble top from Beckford (who was experiencing more financial difficulties) for "£300 ready money" in February 1830: see Hume to Duke, 11 and 25 February 1830 (HA, Bundle 602). The "Auguste Cabinet" was placed in the Duchess's Bedroom and the ebony and mosaic cabinet in her Boudoir. It has been suggested that the "Auguste Cabinet" is the cabinet (now in a private collection) illustrated in Pradère 1989, on page 42, but this does not "match" the description of the "Auguste Cabinet" in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 293) and requires further investigation. The Duke may have purchased other items from Beckford because a payment of £500 to Hume, recorded in his account book under 27 June 1831, is annotated "Beckfords furniture".

In the months that followed the Duke experienced both a setback and a spur. First, Quinet died in London on 7 August 1830,¹⁰⁵ which meant that Parisian acquisitions were suddenly more difficult to arrange and process. Secondly, the Duke visited Windsor Castle on 9 November 1830, “with a roving Order to inspect all the Royal Apartments”.¹⁰⁶

The Duke’s visit to Windsor has been overlooked up until now, but was clearly of cardinal significance. It was undertaken to find out exactly what George IV had achieved before his death in June, to check that the interiors at Hamilton Palace were of the right style and magnificence, and to gather ideas for further decorating and furnishing.

On the whole, the Duke seems to have been re-assured by what he saw and by comparing and contrasting it with his own patronage and collecting. Robert Hume, who accompanied him, informed Beckford: “I am much pleased that His grace viewed the Castle for He says now He is very happy with what He has & is doing at Hamilton Palace”.¹⁰⁷

It is possible that the Duke saw Charles I’s set of bronze statues by Le Sueur on the terrace. If so, the sight would presumably have encouraged him to buy the casts owned by Mazard.

More importantly, the Duke would have seen some of George IV’s spectacular collection of French furniture, which had been assembled over more than forty years. Five years earlier the collection had been enriched by twenty-seven pieces of furniture and lighting equipment from Christie’s eighty-nine-lot sale, in May 1825, of some of the contents of George Watson Taylor’s house in Cavendish Square. These purchases included no fewer than six pieces by Jean-Henri Riesener. The *chef d’oeuvre* was the jewel cabinet of the comtesse de Provence (the wife of Louis XVI’s eldest brother), with caryatid corner mounts, but the swoop also included a cylinder bureau; a commode and two matching corner cabinets made for Louis XVI in 1774 and 1780; and a beautiful little writing table with trellis marquetry and very fine ormolu mounts.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ HA, Bundle 498, Stephen Escudier to the Duchess of Hamilton, 7 August 1830.

¹⁰⁶ Bod, MS. Beckford c.22, f.121, Hume to Beckford, 10 November 1830 (see Appendix 11).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, f.122.

¹⁰⁸ For further information and illustrations, see Roberts 2000.

The Duke probably knew that the King had bought many of the lots in the 1825 Watson Taylor sale, but it seems unlikely that he would have seen the key Riesener pieces during his visit, as they seem to have been in storage.¹⁰⁹ Nonetheless, the French late eighteenth-century furniture on display at Windsor must have made a deep impression upon the Duke and whipped him on to acquire other and, indeed, better examples.

During the visit, the Duke would probably have also seen two partly gilt bronze busts of the Roman Emperors “Augustus” and “Vespasian” (acquired in 1818), Leone Leoni’s bronze busts of Charles V, Philip II and the Duke of Alba (from the 1825 Watson Taylor sale)¹¹⁰ and many other busts. We cannot be certain exactly what he saw in the unfinished new displays in the Grand Corridor and elsewhere, but the visit almost certainly convinced him that his own two busts of Peter the Great and Catherine the Great were not enough and that he needed other busts of Emperors to vie with the British royal collection.

The fact that Charles X had returned to inglorious exile at the Palace of Holyroodhouse in October 1830 would also have strengthened the Duke’s resolve to collect more French material. “That perfidious monarch” had seemed to accept the Duke’s claim to the dukedom of Châtellerault when he had offered the Duchess of Hamilton the privilege accorded to a French duchess of sitting on a *tabouret* in his presence, but had later dismissed this as simply recognition of Susan’s status as the wife of a British duke.¹¹¹ Thus the acquisition of major examples of French furniture not only demonstrated the Duke’s fashionable British taste and enabled him to rival George IV, but blasted home the point that, while Charles could not even keep his throne, the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon was going from strength to strength and turning Hamilton Palace into a veritable French royal palace – as befitted the Duke of Châtellerault!

By extraordinary good luck, over the next two years the Duke was able to acquire four of the greatest pieces of French furniture made for Queen Marie-Antoinette. The first two – the marquetry secretaire and commode which Riesener had supplied for Marie-Antoinette in the 1780s and altered in 1790-1 (now in the

¹⁰⁹ See *ibid.*, p.121.

¹¹⁰ See *ibid.*, figs.17-19.

¹¹¹ See Leveson Gower 1894, I, pp.369-70.

Frick Collection, New York)¹¹² (Figs.81-82) – were purchased at the sale of the collection of M. Maria de Marchetti on 26 April 1831.

A hitherto unpublished letter (in French) reveals that the Duke had commissioned the Parisian upholsterer Chaudesaigues (with whom he had done business since at least 1826¹¹³) to bid for the Marie-Antoinette secretaire and commode and two “Bouille” commodes and records both the arrangement and outcome:

My Lord Duke

After your orders in response to my letter of 31 March last relating to the furniture of Mr Marchetti, I am happy to be able to tell you that I was able to be the highest bidder without exceeding your orders; on the contrary, about one third less.

The Commode and the Secretaire of Marie-Antoinette amounted to 4700 f[rancs]

The two Commodes of boule, which have not been cleaned, to 2300 [francs]

in all 7000 f[rancs]

My Lord Duke will see that I have not abused his confidence regarding the price fixed for all four pieces of 10000 f[rancs]. As I knew many collectors were interested, I managed to take advantage of a period of absence of some of them to have the items passed under the hammer, which was very favourable to me as I got them cheaper. Some people were none too pleased.¹¹⁴

[...]

It has not been possible to confirm or reject the claim to sharp practice, but at least one annotated sale catalogue records that Chaudesaigues purchased the secretaire and commode (which were the first two lots in the sale and are well described and promoted on the cover and in the introduction) for 4,000 francs and the “Bouille” commodes (lot 7) for 2,000 francs.¹¹⁵

The Duke acquired many more items in 1831, but the following year he managed to secure the breath-taking secretaire and commode of Japanese black lacquer, lavishly mounted with ormolu of the very highest quality, which were made for Marie-Antoinette’s *cabinet intérieur* at Versailles by Riesener in 1783 (now in

¹¹² For information about the pieces themselves, see Dell 1992, pp.71-91.

¹¹³ See Chaudesaigues’s bill dated 19 and 20 May 1826 (HA, F2/1064/52).

¹¹⁴ HA, Bundle 1002, Chaudesaigues to Duke, 28 April 1831.

¹¹⁵ The annotated copy of the catalogue in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie at The Hague has “4000 f.” and “chaud[e or i]saigues” against lots 1 and 2 and “2000.” and “chaud[e or i] saigus” next to lot 7. As the Marchetti provenance and sale references have never been published, the catalogue entries are included in Appendix 9.

the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) (Figs.83-84),¹¹⁶ and the secretaire of Japanese black lacquer, decorated with ormolu caryatid corner mounts, which is attributed to Riesener (now in the Getty Museum, Los Angeles) (Fig.85).¹¹⁷

Ronald Freyberger has already associated these pieces with entries in Robins's catalogue of the sale of George Watson Taylor's country house, Erlestoke Park or Mansion, in July 1832,¹¹⁸ but the discovery of a bill from the Duke's agent, Robert Hume, confirms that they were, indeed, bought at the Erlestoke sale.¹¹⁹

It had also been deduced that the Duke had also acquired the first entry on the bill, two *pietre dure* cabinets by Robert Hume (Fig.86).¹²⁰ However, the second entry can be hailed as a major discovery. The "[Two] Busts & Pedestals" are the "Magnificent Antique Bust[s] of Nero" and "Hadrian", "in porphyry, life size, with rich or-molu drapery and mounting", which were sold on the fifteenth day of the Erlestoke sale. Two annotated catalogues in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie at The Hague record their sale to "Hume", for either £294 or £304 (which is probably a mistake converting 280 guineas to pounds); and there can be no doubt that they became the "two antique magnificent busts of oriental porphyry, the one of Augustus and the other of Tiberius", which the Reverend William Patrick stated in 1835 were displayed either side of the throne in the Long Gallery (Figs.87-88).¹²¹

Hume's bill also records that the Duke acquired a very fine French clock¹²² and an ormolu inkstand,¹²³ costing 63 guineas and 21½ guineas respectively, which were auctioned on the same day as the secretaires and commode.

¹¹⁶ The pieces are discussed in Rieder 2002.

¹¹⁷ See Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of Rugs and Carpets, Tapestries, Works of Art and Important French Furniture*, London, 26 November 1971, lot 71.

¹¹⁸ Freyberger 1981, pp.405-8.

¹¹⁹ The bill and a copy are in Bundle 660 and are reproduced and discussed in detail in Appendix 15.

¹²⁰ See Christie's, *Important French and Continental Furniture, Sculpture and Rugs*, New York, 26 April 1990, lot 170. Brooklyn Museum lent one of the cabinets to the Metropolitan Museum and sold the other at this sale. After a decade in the Gerstenfeld collection, the latter was sold by Christie's, *Important English Furniture and Carpets*, London, 6 July 2000, lot 100.

¹²¹ *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, VI, p.274.

¹²² The clock is described in the Erlestoke catalogue as: "A MAGNIFICENT PARISIAN OR-MOLU CLOCK on white marble stand, with lapis lazuli tablet, surmounted by A NOBLE AND FINELY MODELLED GROUP OF 3 CUPIDS of exquisite design and symmetry, with emblematical devices of doves, bows and arrows, &c. scroll arabesque ornaments, festoons and mouldings, excellent eight day movement, with center seconds, by Laupautel a Paris, large glass shade and plinth".

¹²³ The very impressive inkstand is catalogued as: "A SUPERB OR-MOLU INK STAND supported by four finely modelled eagles, richly ornamented with laurel leaves and branches, 2 elegant vases on

The addition to the list – the “small table” costing 46 guineas – is potentially another major discovery, because it may relate to the gorgeous writing table by Riesener, of about 1780-5, now in the Rothschild collection at Waddesdon Manor, which is branded with Marie-Antoinette’s furniture inventory mark (Fig.89),¹²⁴ or to another highly important piece. It has always been a mystery where the Waddesdon writing table came from, but it seems to match the “Lady’s Superbe Marqueterie Writing Table, with slider, drawer and shelf, elaborately inlaid with medallions of flowers, splendidly mounted with chased or-molu, in flowers, foliage and festoons, gallery railing and beaded mouldings”, which was sold, as lot 17, on the same day as the secretaires, commode, clock and inkstand. A handwritten “Copy of bill” in the Erlestoke sale catalogue in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham, records that “Hume” bought this lot for 31 guineas,¹²⁵ so one can legitimately make the link, but there was another lot that day – “A Very Elegant Parisian Marqueterie Cassette and Ecritoire”¹²⁶ – which could conceivably have been described as the “small table”, and the “Copy of bill” seems to imply that Hume also bought this, for 42 guineas.

There is no evidence to suggest that the “Cassette and Ecritoire” was ever in the Hamilton collection, but one must proceed with caution. The listing of “A Beautiful Mosaick Wood work Writing Table richly ornamented with Carved and Gilt Bronze”, valued at £50, in the same room as the two secretaires and commode from the Watson Taylor sale in the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory, in the Hamilton archive,¹²⁷ seems to justify the association of the “small table” on the bill with lot 17 in the Erlestoke sale; but an addition to the entry in the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library compromises the connection. It adds the words “& portrait in Centre of Wood, white marble top & brass Gallery round &c” to the initial entry,¹²⁸ and indicates that this piece was the secretaire decorated with the figure of Silence,

plinths for lights, with festoon drapery and lion’s head masques, chased hand bell in centre, on ebonized and or-molu plinth”.

¹²⁴ For details about the table itself, see de Bellaigue 1974, II, pp.520-7.

¹²⁵ A full transcript of the “Copy of bill” is in Appendix 15.

¹²⁶ The full catalogue description will be found in Appendix 15.

¹²⁷ HA, Volume 1223, p.165.

¹²⁸ HTHL, 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory, p.199.

from Louis XVI's private study in the Petit Trianon (now at Waddesdon) (Fig.90),¹²⁹ rather than the Waddesdon writing table!

More research needs to be carried out on these items, but the implications of Hume's bill also require further investigation. The fact that the charges on the bill exactly match the sums recorded in annotated sale catalogues confirms that the busts, Marie-Antoinette secretaire and commode, and clock were bought by Hume on orders from the Duke; the same was probably the case with the Getty secretaire, where the extra three guineas might be an added charge for restoration. However, there is a huge difference of 100 guineas between the 475 guineas Hume apparently paid for the two *pietre dure* cabinets and the 575 guineas charged to the Duke. This points to a separate post-sale arrangement, with the possibility that Hume either made a substantial profit on the transaction or carried out major (unexpected) alterations to both pieces. The mark up of 4½ guineas on the inkstand, from the 18-guinea hammer price to the 22½ guineas charged to the Duke, suggests that the inkstand was either an "additional" post-sale acquisition (like the table) or a piece that underwent repair and re-gilding.¹³⁰

The placement of the French furniture and the busts is extremely interesting and thought-provoking. The Duke gave Marie-Antoinette's marquetry secretaire and commode from the Marchetti sale to the Duchess, who placed them in her Sitting Room,¹³¹ where they remained and were subsequently complemented with the little writing table now at Waddesdon.¹³²

¹²⁹ See de Bellaigue 1974, I, pp.348-57.

¹³⁰ All this is discussed in more detail in Appendix 15.

¹³¹ They are described in the 1835 inventory (HA, Volume 1223, p.93) as:

"A Very handsome Chest of Drawers French work Gilt Bronze ornaments	}	200 „ „
and top of Marble which belonged to Maria Antonette Queen of France		
A very Rich Cabinet to match the above Chest of Drawers		200".

¹³² The 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.123) records them as:

"A very valuable Marquetrie Pier Commode of 5 Drawers much enriched with beautifully chased and gilt metal Tablet Mouldings and other D° ornaments with white marble Slab on top &°
A high D° D° Bureau Cabinet with fall down front and Cupboard under much enriched with chased Metal work to correspond with Pier commode with a white Marble top and brass gallery round D° _".
The secretaire and commode were joined by the writing table now at Waddesdon, which appears to be listed – as "A very pretty Square Table French work with Shelve under" – as an additional entry to the Duchess's Boudoir in the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.115). The Waddesdon table is listed much less ambiguously directly after the secretaire and commode in the 1853 inventory as:

"A small oblong Marquetrie Table with a shelf below beautifully enriched to correspond with the above Commodes, a brass gallery round top &°. 24 feet long".

The Duke did not allow himself the luxury of adding the other Riesener pieces – or any of his other major recent acquisitions – to his own private rooms (as Freyberger stated¹³³), but placed them in the new apartments. The Choiseul *bureau plat* and *cartonnier*, *pietre dure* cabinets by Hume from the Watson Taylor sale and a pair of ormolu candelabra associated with Marie-Antoinette¹³⁴ went into the new Library, and the “Versailles Cabinet” into the New Sitting Room. The bed and ten *fauteuils* purchased from Lherie were placed in the “Drawing Room” in the New State Apartments, while the three black lacquer pieces from the Watson Taylor sale, the Cressent commode and Louis XVI’s secretaire were marshalled in the “Dressing Room” in the same apartments,¹³⁵ awaiting the completion of these rooms and final distribution.¹³⁶

The Duke set particular store on the two porphyry heads on coloured marble bodies, with ormolu drapery, wreaths and other mounts, from the Watson Taylor sale. He must have realized that they had come from a major Continental collection, but it seems unlikely that he knew that they had been the “Vespasien” and “Titus”, and later “Auguste” and “Vespasien”, in the three great French eighteenth-century collections of Jérôme Phélypeaux, comte de Pontchartrain (the son of the former Chancellor of France), Marcellin-François-Zacharie de Selle and Pierre-Louis-Paul Randon de Boisset, and thereafter in two later Parisian sales (Le Boeuf, 8 April 1783, and J.B.P. Lebrun, 20 April 1791).¹³⁷

For him, the all-important point was that they were “Antique” porphyry busts of Roman Caesars and therefore amongst the most potent signs and symbols of power, wealth and connoisseurship. The Borghese family and the Spanish and French kings had acquired complete sets, while later collectors generally considered themselves fortunate if they had managed to secure a single bust.¹³⁸

On a personal level, the Watson Taylor busts proved to the Duke that he had surpassed his revered relative, Sir William Hamilton, who had owned a remarkably

All three entries were subsequently annotated as “from Versailles” and “Belonged to Marie Antoinette”.

¹³³ See Freyberger 1981, pp.406 and 408.

¹³⁴ See Appendix 9 for a discussion of these pieces.

¹³⁵ The inventory entries will be found in Appendix 9.

¹³⁶ The unfinished state of the New State Rooms and their use as storage areas in 1835 are indicated by the entries in the 1835 inventory: see Appendix 9.

¹³⁷ See Appendix 16 for full details.

¹³⁸ See Malgouyres 2003, pp.128-9.

similar bust ("An Antique Head of Nero, in Porphyry, the Bust added at Rome, in Bronze Gilt, by Luigi, after the Antique"¹³⁹) and Beckford, who had sold his porphyry busts.¹⁴⁰ On a public level, "Augustus" and "Tiberius" demonstrated the Duke's knowledge of Antiquity and success as a collector and emphasized, by their presence and placement, his power, status and royal (if not imperial) descent.

However, there is probably more to it than this, because the Duke's porphyry busts were the models from which the bronze busts of "Augustus" and "Vespasian" at Windsor (Figs.91-92)¹⁴¹ – and two other bronze busts in the Duke of Wellington's collection¹⁴² – had been made. The Duke was therefore able to show that he had "original", superior items and was, by extension, a better collector; and the placing of the busts either side of his throne in the Gallery suggests that he was aware of the bronze busts at Windsor and was engaging in none-too-subtle "one-up-manship" with George IV and William IV.

Unfortunately, we cannot prove this, and it must be a working theory and the subject of further research. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the Duke regarded the porphyry busts as immensely important pieces¹⁴³ and that, for him, they were the crowning pieces to over twelve years of collecting first-rate furniture and other items to decorate the palace.

The Duke might be mollified to learn that "Tiberius" was acquired for Versailles in 1978,¹⁴⁴ although he would probably be very annoyed with the present writer's opinion that there is nothing Antique about either bust (apart from the stone

¹³⁹ Christie, *A Catalogue of a Select Part of the Capital, Valuable, and Genuine Collection of Pictures, the Property of the Rt. Hon. Sir William Hamilton, K.B.*, 27-28 March 1801, lot 45. "Luigi" was, of course, Luigi Valadier. The entry concludes: "This celebrated Bust was found at Naples, and was in the Possession of the Prince Cassano d'Arragona."

¹⁴⁰ Beckford's porphyry pieces included "A porphyry bust of Pompey, on an inlaid marble pedestal" and "A ditto of Vitellius on a ditto pedestal": Phillips, *A Catalogue of [...] The Genuine Property of William Beckford, Esq.*, London, 19-22 August 1801, p.22, lots 56 and 57. Phillips's own annotated catalogue, in the Wallace Collection, records that Thomas Hope bought both busts. "Vitellius" is now in the Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon.

¹⁴¹ George IV's busts (RCIN 2138 and 2139) were purchased for him by Lord Yarmouth (later 3rd Marquess of Hertford) in Paris in 1818 and were sent to Windsor in 1828. I am grateful to Jonathan Marsden for this information.

¹⁴² Wellington's examples at Stratfield Saye are illustrated in Watson 1975, p.46. "Augustus" is shown in colour in Jackson-Stops 1985, p.567. Watson, Jackson-Stops and Aldred have all remarked on the facial resemblance of this bust to Napoleon; Jackson-Stops dated it c.1810.

¹⁴³ They were valued at £700, with their gilt stands, in 1835 (HA, Volume 1223, p.111), which was £406 more than the Duke paid for them (ignoring the commission to Hume).

¹⁴⁴ See Hoog 1993, p.370, no.1734. Hoog describes the bust, now identified as Vitellius, as "Antique et École italienne du XVI^e siècle".

itself) and that they are – like most such busts – probably Italian, sixteenth or seventeenth century,¹⁴⁵ with the possibility that the ormolu is later and French, rather than Italian.

Like many collectors, the Duke was desperate to own “Antique” porphyry busts and failed to be sufficiently sceptical. Nonetheless, we should not be too severe. Between 1820 and 1832 he had acquired over two-thirds of the items that would make Hamilton Palace the greatest repository of French furniture after Versailles and had also managed to secure the Napoleon tea service. Equally importantly, he was now collecting with clear aims – namely the projection of power and emphasizing his association with France – and developing a number of highly distinctive and effective types of “continuity”, which would make Hamilton Palace such an extraordinary work of art in itself.

The problem was that he was now sixty-four and still had a tremendous amount to do.

¹⁴⁵ See Faldi 1954, pp.16-7.

The Last *Grands Projets*: The Black Marble Staircase, Equestrian Monument of the Duke and the Hamilton Mausoleum

The 10th Duke's priority during the last twenty years of his life was the completion and enrichment of Hamilton Palace. This involved finishing the interiors and developing and partly redisplaying the collections, but he also wanted to build a new mausoleum for the Hamilton family and improve the approaches to the palace from Edinburgh and Glasgow and the "Great Northern Avenue" (the tree-lined avenue aligned with the portico of the new North Front). The penultimate chapter examines the final *grands projets*: the great black marble staircase, the proposed adapted copy of the monument of *Marcus Aurelius* and the Hamilton Mausoleum. It includes some discussion of the Duke's later collecting, but leaves the main analysis of these acquisitions to chapter eight.

All these projects were made possible by the "extra" income from the sale of coal, but there was no large surge in revenue during this period which enabled them to be undertaken at the same time or in rapid succession. Although the Duke's Redding coalfield near Falkirk had been developed with new railroads, inclined planes, wharves, pits and engines and was calculated to produce 100,000 tons *per annum* for twenty years to come, "without making any new Pits or new Roads",¹ the Redding-Brighton-Shieldhill mines faced stiff competition from other colliery owners such as the Marquess of Lothian and Sir John Hope.² Moreover, the Duke's apparent "profits" from his coal operations were not straightforward profits: a letter from the Carron Company reveals that £5,019 11s 9d was owed in June 1834 "for Furnishings to the Colliery of his Grace the Duke of Hamilton" and that no payment had been made since July 1830.³

The Duke hoped to sell Ashton Hall for at least £85,000 in the early 1840s,⁴ but never managed to agree the sale of the mortgaged Lancashire Estates or the Suffolk Estates (which were also encumbered with debts and mortgages), as Brown

¹ See HA, Bundle 1032, Brown to Duke, 9 October 1831. Brown regarded the Redding works as "certainly" "the finest thing of the kind I have ever seen either in Scotland or England".

² See Bod, MS. Beckford c.39, f.51, Brown to Duke, 6 October 1831.

³ HA, Bundle 1974, Joseph Dawson to Brown, 16 June 1834.

⁴ See HTHL, HELB 1840-42.

desired.⁵ He therefore had little option but to complete the palace, and only then could he use the cash stream for the equestrian monument or the mausoleum.

Little is currently known about work inside the palace in 1833. However, it is interesting to see the Duke, in the rôle of a great and magnanimous patron, putting pressure on Robert Hume to become involved with the Duke of Newcastle and the redecoration of some of the rooms at Clumber in February 1833.⁶

The following year saw considerable activity: George Ramsay installed the *Girolamo dai Libri* altarpiece in a plaster frame on the Duchess's Staircase; gilders worked on the Library and Dining Room ceilings; the new porphyry chimneypiece in the Library was moved forward; and the gilt borderings and mouldings were completed in the Library, Billiard Room and Dining Room.⁷

More importantly, a start was made to the process of installing black marble chimneypieces and door surrounds in the first-floor Entrance Hall. These were ordered from the London Marble and Stone Company and led to the commissioning of the great black marble staircase, that connected the ground-floor entrance with the Entrance Hall, from the same firm five or six years later.

The Black Marble Staircase and Supporting Atlantes

The first clear mention of the London Marble and Stone Company's involvement is in a letter from Hume to the Duke dated 27 November 1834, which records that he had just paid half of the £415 10s for three chimneypieces that the Company had pressed him to "receive", as they had "been finished now a long time".⁸ They were followed by orders for six black marble doorways and 544 feet of black marble rebate, costing £442 7s including transportation,⁹ which were all

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.12, Brown to Longbourne, 5 September 1840. Some parts were sold (see *ibid.*, pp.269-70), but most was left for the 11th Duke to sort out.

⁶ In February 1833 Hume informed Beckford: "His Grace of Divine Right & Passive Obedience has requested that I should take in Clumber in my way for the Purpose of a Talk upon his intended grand Ceiling" (Bod, MS. Beckford c.22, f.143, Hume to Beckford, 3 February 1833). Hume got the contract, but (apparently) did not do a good job, overcharged Newcastle and then threatened, through a lawyer, to take him to court for the payment and interest (see HA, Bundle 901, Newcastle to Duke, 28 November 1835, in Appendix 11) – thus totally negating the 10th Duke's act of patronage and attempt to bring the Hamilton and Newcastle families closer together.

⁷ See Ramsay's letters to the Duke, dated 2[?] February and 22 March 1834 (HA, Bundle 665).

⁸ HA, Bundle 1979, Hume to Duke, 27 November 1834. Most of the documentation relating to black marble will be found in Appendix 12.

⁹ HA, C4/748/1, copy of invoices from the London Marble and Stone Company, dated 12 August 1835, 12 December 1835 and 20 February 1836.

completed by March 1836,¹⁰ and by two black marble chimneypieces of “extraordinary” dimensions that were under discussion in August 1835.¹¹ These very large chimneypieces and some of the doorways seem to equate to the two massive black marble chimneypieces and at least four black marble door surrounds in the Great Entrance Hall (Fig.79).

Surprisingly, these orders and deliveries did not lead immediately to the commissioning of the black marble staircase itself. Significantly, in the light of our previous discussion on the influence of the herms on the Ottoboni tapestries on the decoration of the palace, the Duke began with the two Atlantes that would flank the interior ground-floor entrance to the palace and appear to support the first-floor passageway above the grand staircase.

On 25 February 1837 the Duke “engaged” the Scottish sculptor Patric Park (1811-1855) to “do my black marble figures to support the passage of the principal stair=case”.¹² Around the same time, Park jubilantly informed Brown: “By order of His Grace I have been empowered to execute two black Marble demi statues of Giants to support part of the Great Staircase in Hamilton Palace”.¹³

The idea was that Park would begin by producing a large copy of a small model, which was subsequently described by the Duke as “a small model in clay prepared in Paris of 12 inches dimensions”.¹⁴ This was either given to Park in late February-early March,¹⁵ before the Duke and Duchess took their daughter to Paris to consult Dr Samuel Hahnemann, the Freemason founder of homeopathy, or was sent to him from there.¹⁶

¹⁰ See *ibid.*, and HA, C4/742, W.D. Carroll to Brown, 22 March 1836.

¹¹ HA, C4/747, Robert Sumner to Connell, 14 August 1835.

¹² HA, C4/122, Duke to Brown, 25 February 1837. All the documentation relating to Park will be found in Appendix 13.

¹³ HA, C4/123/1, Park to Brown, annotated 28 February 1837 on the reverse.

¹⁴ HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.244, Duke to Richard Samuel White, 2 July 1841.

¹⁵ This was Brown’s belief. Writing to the Duke’s London solicitor Richard Samuel White on 6 July 1841, Brown observed: “I begin to think that the Duke had given Park the small model before he left London in Spring 1837 for Paris altho’ in His Grace’s letter to me of 19 June 1837 alluded to in mine to M^r Park of 26 of that month His Grace says he sent it to him from Paris” (*ibid.*, pp.247-8).

¹⁶ The Duke’s exact words in his letter, dated Paris, 19 June 1837 (referred to by Brown in the last footnote) are: “The model that I ordered & sent from hence, I trusted to his [Park’s] hands” (HA, C4/118).

The working theory is that the model was made by the French sculptor Jean-Pierre Cortot (1787-1843). In May 1836 Charles Percier wrote to the Duke (in French):

I hasten to inform you that I have completed the task you kindly assigned to me. Mr Cortot, who is very busy at the arch of the étoile finishing works that must be delivered on the 15th July next, will have the honour of presenting himself at your house between eight and nine in the morning or five to six in the afternoon, so as to come to an agreement with you about the work you will judge fit to give him. Please let him know the day that is convenient and he will immediately come to see you.¹⁷

To date, nothing more has been found, but Cortot would undoubtedly have appealed to the Duke because of his work on the high relief of the *Triumph of Napoleon*, for the Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile (1833-36), and responsibility for one of the two large statues of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette (*Marie-Antoinette Supported by Religion*) in the Chapelle Expiatoire to the couple, which had been designed by Percier's colleague Fontaine.

The commission to Park would have demonstrated quite exceptional enlightened and effective patronage. As a teenager, Park had worked as a "common mason"¹⁸ on the new extension to Hamilton Palace and had carved the Hamilton arms on the Portico.¹⁹ His talent had been recognized by Robert Brown and by Gillespie Graham, who had introduced him to the sculptor Laurence Macdonald and employed him on the decorative carvings at Murthly Castle (the new house he was building for Sir John Stewart of Grandtully in Perthshire).²⁰ Brown had evidently encouraged the Duke to become involved, and he had supported Park's attempt to study at the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh.²¹ The Duke went on to supply a letter to William Richard Hamilton that assisted Park's passage through Paris,²² and followed this up – after receiving extremely fulsome acknowledgement of his "generous condescension" and a satisfactory report of Park's progress, improving his art in Rome²³ – with a

¹⁷ HA, Bundle 1005, Percier to Duke, 15 May 1836.

¹⁸ HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.244, Duke to White, 2 July 1841.

¹⁹ HA, Bundle 1969, draft letter Brown to Countess of Lincoln, 19 January 1834.

²⁰ See Park to Brown, 19 April 1830 (HA, Bundle 1897) and Gillespie Graham to Brown, 14 December 1830 (HA, Bundle 1909).

²¹ See Park to Brown, 1 May 1831 (HA, Bundle 1912).

²² HA, Bundle 1001, Park to Duke, 24 December 1831.

²³ *Ibid.*

letter of introduction to Bertel Thorvaldsen,²⁴ which enabled the young man to study under the great Danish sculptor for at least eighteen months until his funds finally ran out.²⁵

Back in Scotland, Park “finished a most capital” model for a bust of the Duke (as Brown informed the Duke’s daughter) in January 1834,²⁶ and a very life-like bust of Brown.²⁷ Both were carved in marble, and Park received the final payment of £40, on the £140 for them, in March 1835.²⁸

During this time, Park plagued the factor with pleas for help to obtain more commissions from and through his friends and the Duke, and requests for financial assistance.²⁹

In response to this barrage of letters, Brown and the Duke arranged for Park to produce portrait busts of the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Lincoln for Hamilton Palace.³⁰ This turned the problem of a poor and extremely demanding sculptor into a real asset – in effect, a latter-day court sculptor, whose abilities reflected well upon his principal patron – and the Hamilton commissions inspired Lincoln to order a bust of his one-year-old son and heir Henry.³¹

Newcastle was favourably impressed, both with the Duke of Hamilton’s patronage and Park’s work,³² and also with the sculptor’s bravery helping to

²⁴ NLS, Acc.10098/1, 1, Duke to Park, 22 March 1832.

²⁵ See Park to Duke, 18 August 1832 (HA, Bundle 1001) and Gillespie Graham to Brown, 14 August 1833 (HA, Bundle 1962).

²⁶ HA, Bundle 1969, draft letter Brown to Countess of Lincoln, 19 January 1834.

²⁷ David Smith saw the marble busts of the Duke and Brown in 1840 and wrote to Brown: “that of you surprised me for I never saw a more striking likeness in my life” (HA, Bundle 6319, photocopy of letter from Smith to Brown, 20 December 1840).

²⁸ See HA, Bundle 1160, “Note of Payments made by Mr Brown as Factor for the Duke of Hamilton to Mr Patric Park Sculptor”.

²⁹ There are too many letters to cite, but see Appendix 13 for full transcripts and references.

³⁰ The resulting marble busts were displayed in the Tribune and were almost certainly lot 146 in Christie, Manson and Woods’ sale of “The Remaining Contents of the Palace” on 12 November 1919: “Two busts of men, sculptured in white marble – signed PARK, FECIT 1835 – life-size”. Park’s 1834 bust of Brown was lot 325 the following day.

³¹ On 13 February 1835 Park wrote to Brown: “I have the pleasure to inform you that I have modelled young Lord Clinton thereby doing three generations” [of the Newcastle family] (HA, Bundle 1982). The marble bust itself was finished by mid December 1835: see NLS, Acc.10098/1, 10, Lincoln to Park, 17 December 1835.

³² The Duke of Newcastle noted in his diary: “An artist of the name of Park a Scotchman is modelling my Bust for the Duke of Hamilton who means to have it & one of Lincoln executed in marble _ both promise to be very like _ Park is a young man who was a mason at Hamilton & has been brought forward by the D. of H. who sent him to Italy _ Park possesses, genius, judgment, taste & good sense _ his eye is extraordinarily accurate & acute” (UNMSC, Ne 2F 5/1, p.7, under 22 January 1835).

apprehend two armed poachers.³³ He exercised his influence and Park was awarded the commission for the marble statue of Thomas Sadler (1780-1835), the former MP and campaigner for a maximum ten-hour day for factory workers under eighteen, which was to be erected in Leeds. In ecstasy, Park wrote a gushing letter of thanks to the Duke of Hamilton,³⁴ who expressed his pleasure and urged the young man on:

You will I am confident exert yourself, so as to establish a reputation: recollect this is the moment, at the outset of life, when you will more or less take your station amongst your brother artists; & you must go forward or you will fall backward _ Never neglect holding before you the works of the antient masters, & with such models, and your own assiduity & talent you cannot fail — I wish you every success, and am your very good friend &c &c

CH&B³⁵

It was a letter the Duke would have cause to rue.

In April 1836 Newcastle went to see the statue of Sadler while it was underway and Park rose even higher in his estimation:

I suggested some alterations which I think will improve it, if they succeed, I really think that it will be as good a work as any one would produce & will reflect the highest credit on so young an artist _³⁶

In July the Duke of Hamilton permitted Park to exhibit “the busts you have executed for me” in Glasgow, expressed his gladness that Park had entered the competition for a bust of Sir Walter Scott, and promised to call at his studio in London.³⁷ But, within six months, Park was back in financial difficulties and – yet again – he appealed to the Duke for a loan. In a long letter dated 9 January 1837, Park requested £100 to tide him over until he received the balance due on the statue of Sadler and had tried to sell his statue of a *sphaerobolos* or ball-thrower at the Royal Academy exhibition.³⁸ Shrewdly persistent, he also sent two follow-up letters to Brown which emphasized his plight and invoked the very serious illness of his Mother.³⁹

³³ *Ibid.*, p.9, under 1 February 1835.

³⁴ HA, Bundle 1002, Park to Duke, undated but probably written in early October 1835.

³⁵ NLS, Acc.10098/1, 8, Duke to Park, 14 October [1835].

³⁶ UNMSC, Ne 2F 5/1, p.109, under 19 April 1836.

³⁷ NLS, Acc.10098/1, 11, Duke to Park, 24 July 1836.

³⁸ HA, Bundle 6253, Park to Duke, 9 January 1837.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Park to Brown, 17 and 27 January 1837.

The result of all this was the commission to undertake the Duke's "black marble figures" at the end of February. Almost immediately, Park received fifty pounds,⁴⁰ which met his immediate needs. All Park had to do was produce good "enlargements" in clay and then black marble and there was an excellent prospect of other large-scale works. And, for his part, the Duke could look forward to deriving considerable credit for encouraging a local mason and transforming him into one of the leading Scottish sculptors of the period.

However, Park was desperate to become "the first Sculptor in England" (as he had told the Duke).⁴¹ He had exhibited the three marble busts of the Newcastle family at the 1836 Royal Academy exhibition⁴² and "Theseus and Cacus" at the 1837 British Institution,⁴³ and had the statue of Sadler, plaster of the *Sphaerobolos* and bust of Brown lined up for the 1837 Royal Academy exhibition.⁴⁴ Ever since he got back from Italy Park had wanted to undertake a colossal sculpture⁴⁵ and now he seized the opportunity to create an outstanding original work that would "make him" as a sculptor. Then, totally self-absorbed, he compounded his folly by asking for more money at a very bad moment.

Lady Lincoln's flirtation with her husband's brother, William, had come to light at the end of January and her health collapsed after her parents brought her to Paris to consult Dr Hahnemann. Dreadful spasms were followed by the (temporary) loss of sight, hearing, speech and even sanity.⁴⁶ After almost four months trying to care for Susan, the Duke and Duchess were exhausted and extremely concerned about their daughter's recovery and the continuation of her marriage.

It was a highly charged emotional situation and news of Park's activities and his request for yet more money sparked a small explosion. In exasperation and annoyance, the Duke declared that he had not instructed Park to commence the large-

⁴⁰ HA, C4/123/2, Park to Brown, 6 March 1837, acknowledging receipt of the fifty pounds.

⁴¹ HA, Bundle 6253, Park to Duke, 9 January 1837.

⁴² Numbers 1101, 1115 and 1138.

⁴³ HA, Bundle 6253, Park to Duke, 9 January 1837.

⁴⁴ They were shown as numbers 1166, 1172 and 1240.

⁴⁵ See Laurence Macdonald's letter to his brother James, written from Rome on 5 October 1833: "This will be delivered to you by M^r. Park who means to make some stay in Scotland, and, I beli[e]ve, also thinks of modeling a Colossal figure in Edinburgh" (NLS, MS 7231, f.68). Macdonald went on to ask that Park be shown any apparatus left over from modelling his own large figures and be allowed to buy it if it was not wanted.

⁴⁶ See Surtees 1977, pp.39-47.

scale copy of the “small model” entrusted to him and had not authorised Park to go to Scotland and consult with David Hamilton. “Nor”, continued the Duke, “have I anything to do with the new model he has chosen to commence [...] If he has assumed to himself the authority of doing work for me that I never ordered, he cannot complain of my objecting to pay for it _”.⁴⁷

The Duke’s displeasure was communicated to Park by Brown on 26 June⁴⁸ and the commission melted away.

In 1841 creditors closed in on Park⁴⁹ and a claim was made against the Duke for £250, for the uncompleted work. From the mass of legal correspondence,⁵⁰ it emerges that the Duke had gone to Park’s studio in London, after his return from Paris in the autumn of 1837, and discovered “that [Park] had been moulding a Clay figure of his own invention instead of making a fac simile of mine from which the marble Statues were to have been copied”.⁵¹ In the end, the Duke settled with Park’s solicitors, rather than have his “name dragged thro’ the Courts and be exposed to much vexation and perhaps be nonsuited to complete the business”.⁵²

The main outcome, however, was that the Duke turned his back on his “court sculptor”, with the consequence that Park became a very frustrated modeller and carver of portrait busts living in England, and the Atlantes ceased to have a Scottish dimension. The Duke failed to obtain black marble of sufficient size,⁵³ and – with the assistance of Thomas Campbell⁵⁴ – the “duplicate” of the model that had been given to Park⁵⁵ was sent to the Parisian founder Louis-Claude-François Soyer, with whom

⁴⁷ HA, C4/118, Duke to Brown, 19 June [1837]. The Duke then passed on to other matters, but was sufficiently irritated that he returned to Park later in the letter: “I should have observed to you, when speaking of Parke, that he is unreasonable; he is always applying to me for assistance, & it really is not in my power to be always making debts to assist others misfortunes. _ He must look else where for support _”.

⁴⁸ See the excerpts of correspondence compiled in connection with the legal action, in HA, Bundle 1160.

⁴⁹ HA, C4/120/2, Park to Duke, 18 May 1841.

⁵⁰ See Appendix 13.

⁵¹ HTHL, HELB 1840-42, pp.237-8, Duke to White, 26 June 1841.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.292-3, Duke to White, 29 September 1841. The settlement cost at least £220, plus the Duke’s own legal costs: see *ibid.*, pp.347-8, Brown to White, 4 December 1841.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.244, Duke to White, 2 July 1841.

⁵⁴ See Carroll to Duke, 24 October 1839 (HA, C4/772, in Appendix 12) and Campbell’s letters to the Duke dated 28 October and 1 November 1839 (HA, C4/770 and C4/761, in Appendix 10).

⁵⁵ The Duke described this on 4 July 1841 as: “The other small model, I having had a duplicate made a’ Paris is at this moment there” [i.e. in Paris] (HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.246, Brown to White, 5 July 1841).

the Duke had been in correspondence since at least 1824.⁵⁶ Soyer had already undertaken a number of commissions for the Duke⁵⁷ and duly supplied two colossal bronze Atlantes in 1842, at a cost of 34,000 francs, plus crating and shipping.⁵⁸

Soyer's Atlantes (Figs.93 and 96) were first-rate works, but it was very unfortunate for Park, the Duke and British sculpture that the initial plan went so badly wrong. It seems likely that the commission was given to Park too early, in response to his begging letters, and that the Duke was too preoccupied with his daughter to brief the sculptor properly and to involve Brown sufficiently as an informed party and controller of the problem protégé.

After such a fiasco, there was, understandably, a pause before the Duke resumed work on the black marble staircase. It currently seems that about two years elapsed, between June 1837 and May 1839,⁵⁹ before the Duke returned in earnest to the staircase.

During this intervening period, the scheme for the staircase was almost certainly affected by the Duke's reflections upon his new status as a Knight of the Garter,⁶⁰ the two Egyptian sarcophagi or stone coffins he had acquired in 1834⁶¹ and 1836⁶² – which included the one in which he himself would be interred (Fig.94) – and

⁵⁶ See HA, Bundles 1001 and 1002.

⁵⁷ Soyer's previous work included a "portrait" of the Duchess (see Soyer & Ingé's bill dated 20 March 1839 in HA, Bundle 914) and a *Jupiter Olympien*, which cost 8,000 francs in 1840 (see Soyer & Ingé's bill, HA, F2/1069/31).

⁵⁸ HA, F2/1069/31, bill from Soyer & Ingé, dated 24 8bre 1842. The main correspondence is in HA, C4/840.

⁵⁹ This date is indicated by the two main invoices for the staircase (HA, F2/1001/3 and 4), which begin the accounting period in May 1839. However, both start with doorways and it seems likely that the staircase itself was initiated later.

⁶⁰ The Duke was notified of his appointment in November 1835 and formally elected at a Chapter of the Order in February 1836. He commissioned Henry William Pickersgill, who can be regarded as Sir Thomas Lawrence's successor, to paint a full-length portrait of himself, wearing Garter robes, which was exhibited at the 1838 Royal Academy exhibition. This was placed in the Gallery, with the full-length portraits of the Duke's forebears, and was clearly much preferred to the Raeburn portrait. It was included in Christie, Manson and Woods' sale of Hamilton paintings on 6 November 1919 (lot 42), with measurements of 93½ x 57½ inches, and is recorded in a Robinson and Fisher sale on 6 March 1930. An oil study was sold at Sotheby's on 11 April 1973 (lot 110) to Crawshaw.

⁶¹ The sarcophagus of Pa-ba-sa, a high official during the reign of Psamtek I in the 26th dynasty (now in Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow), appears to have been a present from William Richard Hamilton: see Bingham Richards & Company to "the Agent of H[is] G[race] The Duke of Hamilton", 26 April 1834 (HA, Bundle 1972). For a description and discussion of the sarcophagus itself, which has a lid of red diorite and a body of grey diorite, see Campbell 1910.

⁶² The Duke bought the late Ptolemaic stone coffin in which he would eventually be buried in Paris in 1836, in his capacity as a Trustee of the British Museum. Unfortunately, his fellow Trustees and the curators thought he had bought the heavily inscribed, rectangular black schist sarcophagus of the high priestess Ankhnesneferibre, daughter of Psamtek II, which they very much wanted to acquire, and

the replacement of the Hamilton vault in the old Collegiate Church. Over these years and into the initial design phase, the Duke was also dealing with his daughter's problems, the case that had been brought against Lincoln and himself by the two doctors who had "saved" Susan's life, newspaper coverage of her illness and the state of her marriage,⁶³ and – after June/July 1839 – his son's resolute refusal⁶⁴ to consider the idea of marriage to Princess Marie of Baden. The latter proposal, first raised anonymously by Lieutenant-Colonel Stepney Cowell,⁶⁵ as part of the Foreign Office's attempts to develop better diplomatic relations with German states, was instantly attractive to the Duke because the "Princess" would apparently come with between £50,000 and £60,000.⁶⁶ However, the match became even closer to his heart when he learned that the potential bride was the daughter of the adopted daughter of the Emperor Napoleon, and realized that the alliance presented the House of Hamilton with a union directly comparable to Queen Victoria's marriage to Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha in February 1840.

The Duke clearly felt that he needed to bolster his status. In October 1839 he applied to the Whig Prime Minister Lord Melbourne to be made Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland.⁶⁷ Around this time he must have also decided that he was definitely going to erect a staircase that would eclipse George IV's Grand Staircase in Buckingham Palace,⁶⁸ with its exuberant gilt bronze balustrade by Samuel Parker costing £3,900 and polychrome scagliola wall panels, and the Principal Staircase constructed for the 2nd Marquis of Stafford (later 1st Duke of Sutherland) at Stafford House (now Lancaster House),⁶⁹ that had been undertaken in the late 1820s-early

there was considerable disappointment and recrimination when the shipment was opened and found to contain only a late mummiform coffin. As a result, the Duke refunded the Trustees, kept the coffin, and later decided to use it for his own remains. The British Museum succeeded in acquiring the sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferibre later in 1836: see Bierbrier 1982, pp.134-5.

⁶³ Doctors Wolowski and Koreff had kept notes, totalling 600 pages, of Susan's words and actions, which they threatened to publish unless they were paid £18,000 for their services. They lost their case in Paris in December 1837, but the proceedings attracted a lot of very unwelcome attention and comment.

⁶⁴ See HA, C4/958/5, Douglas to Duke, 29 September [1839], and Bundle 1421, Douglas to Duke, 21 October [1839]. All the letters relating to the campaign to get Douglas to marry Princess Marie that have been found to date are in Appendix 18.

⁶⁵ HA, C4/958/1, [Cowell] to Duke, 20 June 1839.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ See Melbourne's acknowledgement, dated 27 October 1839, of his application in HA, Bundle 754.

⁶⁸ See Robinson 2000, p.64. In the illustration, the scagliola panels have been painted over and the carved swags and hang are later.

⁶⁹ See Yorke 2001, pp.32-3 and 80-1.

1830s. The Duke almost certainly became even more committed to his *tour de force* in December 1840 when he learnt that the Keepership of the Great Seal had gone to the Earl of Stair.⁷⁰

The great cantilevered double staircase (Figs.95-97),⁷¹ which was undertaken between 1840 and 1845, was the most magnificent and expensive staircase ever erected in Scotland and was regarded as such an achievement that the London Marble and Stone Company displayed a model of it at the 1851 Great Exhibition.⁷² The finished staircase itself consisted of a large central landing, two corner landings and five flights of forty-one actual steps, with eight pedestals and ninety-four balusters⁷³. The upper landing was formed by five large “flats” and had a balustrade with eight balusters in each of the left and right-hand sections, two pairs of pedestals and a longer central section of balusters. Directly opposite were three large openings providing light to a passageway with a further six pedestals and at least another twenty-seven balusters.

The cost was enormous, probably double that of either of the actual staircases in Buckingham Palace and Lancaster House. The eight “landings” came to £1,827 11s 2d, and the Duke was charged £1,906 for fifty-seven steps, £3,318 for 158 balusters, £652 12s 1d for eighteen pedestals and £439 3s 6s for twelve lengths of handrail.⁷⁴ When doorways, installation, crating and transportation had been added, the total bill from the London Marble and Stone Company alone amounted to a staggering £9,293 2s 11d.

The scale of the undertaking becomes even more apparent from the correspondence. Writing on 30 July 1840, William Marshall informed Robert Brown

⁷⁰ See the Duke’s draft letters to the Prime Minister and Melbourne’s replies in December 1840 and January 1841 in HA, Bundle 754.

⁷¹ The staircase still exists, albeit in a very weathered and damaged state and without its eight large “flats”. It was included in Sotheby’s sale of *Garden Statuary and Architectural Items* at Summers Place, Billingshurst, on 28 May 1986 (lot 251) and was acquired by South Lanarkshire Museums a year later, when the buyer found he could not reconstruct it as intended. The remaining parts are stored in Hamilton.

⁷² *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations* (London, 1851), II, p.764, no.17. The “work” is stated to have four landings, forty-one steps and 125 balusters.

⁷³ There were two sets of three balusters on the first step, two pairs of balusters on each of the next four steps, and a pair of balusters on each of the remaining thirty-six steps.

⁷⁴ HA, F2/1001/3 and 4, invoices from the London Marble and Stone Company for May 1839 to March 1845. The discrepancy between the forty-one steps in the finished staircase and the fifty-seven charged on the bill is probably partly explained by the twelve steps that were rejected in May 1841.

that, even using “double gangs of Sawyers and working extra hours”, it had taken six weeks to cut the block for the “large Flat” or landing.⁷⁵ The other main parts were so large that the Company sent William Field, their chief workman, and an “experienced man” to Galway, in Ireland, in early August, to expedite the raising and shipping of them,⁷⁶ and the “experienced man” remained in Galway until they had been quarried.⁷⁷

The correspondence is of particular interest because it shows the architects David and James Hamilton losing their lead rôle to the London firm. Field submitted a two-option model which enabled the Duke to decide that the balustrade would have four pedestals of the same square section on each side and a diagonal handrail with the tops of the pedestals rising above the rail.⁷⁸ Marshall cracked the whip: “The Duke of Hamilton having decided upon the Model N° 2 with the Pedestals, for the completion of the Ballustrade [...] we have now only to consider the best manner of carrying His Grace’s intentions into effect”.⁷⁹ Field insisted that there should be a pedestal at each angle and pairings of pedestals on the gallery landing, to “break the joints of the Cope, and releave the sameness arising from a long line of uniform Ballustrades”. (Both these points were accepted, as one can see from photographs of the staircase.) Field also pressed for various refinements to the pedestals and balustrade on the landing and termination of the skirting.⁸⁰

David and James Hamilton sniped about the need to work the marble in London, when they saw “Blocks of Galway going through Glasgow”,⁸¹ and were politely swatted:

In fact the very Marble you allude to, as being at Glasgow, was offered to us . in London . but declined on account of the sizes and quality . not suiting our purpose. ___ it was afterw[ar]ds reshipped by the owner . and consigned to Glasgow . there being no demand for it in the London Market _ It is also from an inferior Quarry, to the one we are using. ___⁸²

⁷⁵ HA, Bundle 6317, photocopy of letter from Marshall to Brown, 30 July 1840.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, and HA, C4/115/3, Marshall to Duke, 3 August 1840.

⁷⁷ See HA, C4/115/4, Marshall to David and James Hamilton, 27 August 1840.

⁷⁸ See HA, C4/117, draft letter Duke to Marshall, 13 August 1840.

⁷⁹ HA, C4/115/4, Marshall to David and James Hamilton, 27 August 1840.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ HA, C4/161, copy of letter from David and James Hamilton, probably written to Marshall, dated 20 August 1840.

⁸² HA, C4/115/4, Marshall to David and James Hamilton, 27 August 1840.

Regrettably, the surviving correspondence is primarily about production and finance and does not really enable us to follow the evolution of the design of the staircase. That said, it is now possible to address the question of why it took about five years to make all the necessary parts.

The delay becomes even more of an issue when we see how much was achieved in the first phase. The “first Flat” and six steps were shipped from London around 29 August 1840,⁸³ and were followed by at least another twenty-one steps, along with some “Ballustrades” and “Plinth”, by 25 May 1841.⁸⁴ All the blocks for the other “flats” had been obtained by 18 December 1840, when one was being cut, four were “in the River” and “the remainder on the Quay at Galway”.⁸⁵ The two “Plats for the Corners” were at the palace by early April 1841⁸⁶ and three of the five “flats” for the upper passageway had been sent north before 21 October 1841.⁸⁷

There was a problem with “rejected Steps”⁸⁸ and “misunderstanding” over the “quantity of the String Course or Plinth required” in May 1841,⁸⁹ which must have incurred delay. But the real cause of the subsequent slowdown seems to have been the revisions proposed by Henry Edmund Goodridge (who replaced David Hamilton after he was incapacitated by a “paralytic stroke” and “another attack” in January-February 1842⁹⁰) coupled with the Duke’s failure to pay promptly the large sums the Company requested. The fluidity over the design and limited payments seem to have led the London Marble Company to proceed cautiously and to employ a relatively small number of craftsmen. Had they had full confidence, and committed all their resources, the work would unquestionably have been completed much sooner.

⁸³ HA, Bundle 6288, Marshall to Brown, 29 August 1840.

⁸⁴ See Marshall’s letters to Brown dated 21 September 1840, 7 December 1840, 18 December 1840 and 25 May 1841 (HA, Bundles 6319 and 6326 and C4/115/6) and Brown to Thomas Dawson, 30 January 1841 (HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.119).

⁸⁵ HA, Bundle 6326, photocopy of letter from Marshall to Brown, 18 December 1840.

⁸⁶ HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.181, Brown to David Hamilton, 6 April 1841.

⁸⁷ HA, C4/115/8, Marshall to Duke, 21 October 1841.

⁸⁸ This partly explains the discrepancy between the forty-one steps that can be counted in the photographs of the staircase and the fifty-seven steps recorded on the bills.

⁸⁹ See HA, C4/115/7, Marshall to Duke, 26 May 1841. In this letter, Marshall suggested converting the rejected steps into “Ballustrades”. However, Brown informed the Duke on 19 June 1842 that Harvie “says the black marble steps can be sawn up two inches thick and will answer to the black borders” of the marble floor of the corridor (HA, Volume 1260, p.82).

⁹⁰ See HTHL, HELB 1840-42, pp.406, 408, 414 and 418.

There is very little clear evidence about Goodridge's revisions,⁹¹ and how much the London Marble Company knew about them, but the Duke's payments have now been completely established. The London Marble Company's first request for payment, of £1,000, was made on 4 January 1841⁹² and was authorised by the Duke within days.⁹³ Marshall asked for a further £1,500 on 25 May 1841⁹⁴ but only received £1,000 in early June.⁹⁵ On 21 October he complained that "the last remittance was less than requested", emphasized that the "greater part of the difficult and heavy work" would have been completed once the "two remaining Landings" were sent off, and asked for "the further Sum of £2000".⁹⁶ The Duke sent an order for £1,000 on 25 October and promised another £1,000 in "the course of a few weeks".⁹⁷ However, this never materialized and the payment eventually took the form of £500 in December 1841⁹⁸ and another £500 in March 1842.⁹⁹

At the end of June 1843 Marshall wrote to the Duke:

I am directed by the Managers to say that having executed a considerable quantity of Work for Hamilton Palace _ within the last year or two, _ the greatest part of which, lately sent off _ and that also _ now in hand, being principally Labor of a very expensive nature _ , and consequently attended with a considerable weekly outlay of Money for Wages &c. _ The Managers will feel much obliged by your Grace _ remitting them at your early convenience £2000 ___ on Account. _¹⁰⁰

This time there was an even longer delay receiving payment. This was almost certainly due to the marriage of the Marquis of Douglas to the Princess Marie of Baden in February 1843, which led the Duke to increase his son's annual allowance

⁹¹ Goodridge proposed a fireplace "on the first landing", to make "a comfortable impression on the mind", completely failing to see that this was the last thing the Duke wanted to do. He seems to have been responsible for adding two steps to the first flight of steps, but also agitated for changes to the size and position of pedestals: see his letters to the Duke in 1842 in HA, C4/136.

⁹² See HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.101, Brown to Marshall, 9 January 1841.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, and HA, F2/1001/4.

⁹⁴ HA, C4/115/6, Marshall to Duke, 25 May 1841.

⁹⁵ See HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.225, Duke to Marshall, 3 June 1841, and HA, F2/1001/4.

⁹⁶ HA, C4/115/8, Marshall to Duke, 21 October 1841.

⁹⁷ HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.317, Duke to the London Marble Company, 25 October 1841.

⁹⁸ See *ibid.*, pp.352-3, Duke to Marshall and Duke to Hoare & Company, both dated 13 December 1841, and HA, F2/1001/4.

⁹⁹ See HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.443, Duke to Hoare & Company, 5 March 1842, and Duke to Marshall, 6 March 1842, and HA, F2/1001/4.

¹⁰⁰ HA, C4/116/4, Marshall to Duke, 28 June 1843.

from £2,500 to £7,500 and to make him a present “by way of outfit” of £4,000.¹⁰¹ By the time Marshall’s letter reached the Duke, William had received at least £7,350 and was due another £3,750 on 11 November. One can therefore understand why the Company did not receive prompt payment and was in many ways fortunate to receive two payments, each of £1,000, in late August¹⁰² and mid December that year.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, it is equally apparent that the Company could not keep a large number of skilled carvers and polishers on a single big project when thousands of pounds were not coming in on time.

There were certainly delays caused by the Duke’s failure to send instructions or confirm points,¹⁰⁴ but the general argument about slow payments holding things up seems to be confirmed by the letter of William George Jacob, the new Clerk to the Company, to Brown on 16 April 1844:

M^r. Field continues to keep a number of men upon the remaining Balustrades, Handrails; &c. and expects to be enabled Shortly to make a further sending; but on this matter he refers more particularly to a letter written M^r. Harvie on the 12th. Instant.

M^r. Field brought to your notice when in Scotland, that the work now in progress is almost exclusively hand labor, and not only of the most expensive description, but cannot be executed with too great rapidity without injury to the workmanship.

I take also leave to bring to your recollection that you were so good as to state you would arrange with the Duke to make a remittance of £1.000 to the Company.¹⁰⁵

Brown seems to have recognized that payment was necessary if the pace of work was to be increased, and, “by the desire of the Duke of Hamilton”, he sent an order for £1,000 to Jacob two days later.¹⁰⁶ Another request for a further £1,000 on 4 November¹⁰⁷ was handled less adroitly, with Brown observing to the Duke “perhaps they will require to get £500” and then wondering “but why do they not send the

¹⁰¹ See HA, F2/1042/29, “Memorandum for His Grace The Duke of Hamilton and the Marquis of Douglas”, dated 26 June 1843.

¹⁰² See HA, Volume 1260, pp.401-2, Brown to Duke, 24 August 1843, and HA, F2/1001/4.

¹⁰³ See *ibid.*, pp.484-5, Duke to Hoare & Company and Brown to William George Jacob, both dated 16 December 1843, and F2/1001/4.

¹⁰⁴ For example, Goodridge visited the “Marble Works” in early December 1842 and found they were “anxiously waiting instructions, being apprehensive they may be pressed and ultimately cause disappointment”. The Company’s concern in this instance seems to have been to do with the rail: see HA, C4/136/12, Goodridge to Duke, 7 December 1842.

¹⁰⁵ HA, C4/116/7, Jacob to Brown, 16 April 1844.

¹⁰⁶ HA, Volume 1261, p.64, Brown to Jacob, 18 April 1844.

¹⁰⁷ See HA, Bundle 6299, Jacob to Brown, 4 November 1844.

remainder of the Ballusters and the Railing for the top of the Stair _ The Masons are thrown idle for want of them. _".¹⁰⁸

Although they did not get immediate payment, the Company seem to have concluded that it was time to wrap up the job, and Field increased the workforce. Replying to a letter from the Duke on 11 November, Field noted that he had

forwarded 2 Cases of marble containing 9 Ballustrades for Stairs; and one pedestal for top Landing, to complete the right hand side; and I will Send ten more Ballustrades next Saturday and make a shipment every successive week.

I am now using every possible exertion, that the nature of the work will admit of. I have at the present time 15 Masons and Carvers, likewise 12 polishers fully employed. There is only one Ballustrade and the top pieces of Rail to work to complete the whole, but as Soon as I can get more from the Carvers hands, more polishers Shall then be employed.¹⁰⁹

The commitment of more craftsmen is further reflected in Field's postscript: "Since writing the above, on looking over the work in hand, I find I can Send 20 Ballustrades away next Saturday".

Completion was now in sight, and on 26 February 1845 Brown informed the Duke that "All the marble for the Stair case having been sent here by the London Marble Company _ you may now send for their Accounts in order to see what their charges are. _".¹¹⁰

The finished staircase was complemented by the "warm-tinted and beautifully veined freestone" used for the first-floor Entrance Hall and a very fine floor of black, Skye and Sienna marble by the Edinburgh masons Wallace and Whyte. The architect John Baird, who worked in David Hamilton's office on drawings for the staircase and other parts of the palace, recalled in 1869 that the masonry of the Entrance Hall and Staircase was

of the most exquisite kind. Not only the faces of the stones, but the top and bottom beds and end-joints also were polished; and instead of this being done in the usual way by rubbing them with the polisher, the parts to be polished were laid on the polisher, and in this way rubbed until they were perfectly true.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ HA, Volume 1261, pp.303-4, Brown to Duke, 6 November 1844.

¹⁰⁹ HA, Bundle 6299, Field to Duke, 11 November 1844.

¹¹⁰ HA, Volume 1261, pp.487-8, Brown to Duke, 26 February 1845.

¹¹¹ *Builder*, 9 January 1869, p.27.

Wallace and Whyte's floor, which cost around £775, was equally well made. It had a mean depth of about 2½ inches,¹¹² and – like their floor in the Corridor – the decoration was probably inlaid at least an inch.¹¹³

The staircase was an astonishing assertion of status and wealth, especially when one recalls that black marble had previously been used for the tombs and grave markers of English kings (including Arthur) and that a black marble statue of George IV had been erected in Dublin.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the black marble was also comparable to the black granite, schist, granodiorite, basalt and other very dark stones used for many of the most important Egyptian antiquities that had poured into Britain, notably into the British Museum, in the wake of the surrender of Napoleon's army in Egypt and the collecting activities of Henry Salt and Giovanni Belzoni in the late 1810s-early 1820s.

The staircase suggested and implied royal or imperial status, but there would have been an even more overtly regal or imperial work of art if the Duke had had more money: a bronze copy of the great Roman equestrian monument of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius by Thomas Campbell, fitted with a bronze head of the Duke instead of that of the philosopher-warrior.

The Proposed Equestrian Monument of the Duke as *Marcus Aurelius*

This rather shocking, megalomaniac idea probably originated with Campbell, who was a keen collector of casts of Roman antiquities and had supplied the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh with examples when he was working in Rome in the 1820s. The Duke had helped him to obtain a cast of the *Ludovisi Mars* for the Academy in 1824¹¹⁵ and had been contacted in 1827 about getting a cast of the *Ludovisi Paetus and Arria*, which was also owned by the Prince of Piombino.¹¹⁶

Campbell came back into the Duke's orbit after the dismissal of Park. On 17 May 1839 Campbell wrote to the Duke about a bust he had seen in an antiquary's

¹¹² HA, C4/109/4, Wallace and Whyte to Brown, 1 September 1845.

¹¹³ See HA, Bundle 6296, Wallace and Whyte to Brown, 10 August 1844.

¹¹⁴ Dixon 1978, p.63. The statue, commemorating the king's visit to Ireland in 1821, was destroyed in 1916.

¹¹⁵ See NAS, NG2/3/1/4; NG1/3/22, p.555; NG1/41/4/1, 3 and 4; and NG1/3/23, p.60-3.

¹¹⁶ See NAS, NG1/3/23, pp.302-3, and HA, Bundle 1000, Campbell to Duke, 24 March 1827.

shop at Rome and, three days later, the Duke requested him to acquire it, “for your honor & mine”.¹¹⁷ It seems that the embarrassing “bust” was Campbell’s bust of the Duke that had been presented to Princess Pauline Borghese.¹¹⁸

At the end of October, Campbell replied to a letter from the Duke with advice about the “Cariatides” or Atlantes and the cleaning of the bronze statues in the Entrance Hall, and noted: “I have been studying and working on your Grace’s Bust, and I trust I have not only surpassed the Early bust in likeness but also as a Work of Art”.¹¹⁹ This was envisaged as the model for the head of the equestrian statue of the Duke; and the monument is clearly alluded to in the last sentence of the letter, when Campbell informs the Duke he will be in Italy, “but in all probability not at Rome, unless your Grace fixes upon having the Equestrian Statue, which I could do Con Amore”.

As he was now committed to the staircase, the Duke sensibly held back. A letter from Campbell on 18 July 1840 prompted the cautious response:

My colossal Bust in clay being terminated, you certainly cannot do better than to take immediately a cast in plaister of it _ For the present I could wish you to do no more; altho’ when I come to Town perhaps I shall incline to have one cast in bronze, but before that is done, I should wish to have some communication with you _¹²⁰

In reality, the project was put on ice,¹²¹ as funds went into the staircase. But in November 1845 – a month after Robert Brown had declared the palace “finished”¹²² – Campbell tried to breathe new life into what would have been the most complex and satisfying undertaking of his life. He wrote to the Duke begging leave to inform him

that the bronze Moulders which I formerly brought from France are now in London, & that I could now execute the equestrian statue of

¹¹⁷ NLS, MS 146, f.53, Duke to Campbell, 20 May 1839.

¹¹⁸ The idea of a link with Princess Pauline is strengthened by the Duke’s remarks about having made “some enquiries” about the bust “Some time ago” and having been “informed that it had disappeared from its’ original place”. Campbell seems to have bought the bust and passed it on to the Duke because there is a shipping bill, made out to him, for transporting a “Marble Bust” from Rome to his address in London, dated 9 September 1839, in the Hamilton archive (Bundle 679).

¹¹⁹ HA, C4/770, Campbell to Duke, 28 October 1839.

¹²⁰ NLS, MS 146, f.66, Duke to Campbell, 23 July [1840].

¹²¹ See Campbell’s letter to the Duke, dated 24 October 1842, written in reply to a letter from the Duke sent three days earlier: “It was a great consolation to me [to] know that your grace has not forgotten me, & that I should have an opportunity of submitting the Bust to Her grace the Duchess on Her arrival at Portman Square” (HA, C4/755).

¹²² HA, Bundle 6309, “Scroll Letter” Brown to Douglas, 18 October 1845.

Marcus Aurelius or the Bust which I had the honor to model for your grace for that purpose¹²³

The Duke replied eight days later, and on 15 December Campbell responded:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your graces letter of the 2^d current, & having bestowed so much time & careful study on the Bust I had the honor to execute of Your Grace, I do not conceal the high gratification it would afford me to have the opportunity of either transferring it to bronze, or completing the more important work of an Equestrian statue, for which it was originally prepared, & designed [...]¹²⁴

Accepting that “the execution of this work may depend on the Expence”, Campbell began to define the costs. At present, he could not “form a correct Estimate” of the cost of the equestrian statue, but offered to produce a bronze bust “according to the large model in my possession” for 500 guineas, or to charge only 250 guineas “for the duties I have already performed of modelling, & completing the colossal bust, & with taking casts of Marcus Aurelius, with a view to the important object I have referred to”.¹²⁵

With the help of the architect William Burn, Campbell obtained estimates for a pedestal for the equestrian statue from Macdonald and Leslie,¹²⁶ and on 17 January 1846 he was “prepared to say” that “the colossal Equestrian statue in bronze” would “not exceed” £6,000. A pedestal of “polished Red Granite” would cost an additional £750 and carriage and installation would take the total bill to about £7,000. Campbell confirmed the alternatives – a “Colossal Bust in bronze” would be 500 guineas or the work done to date 250 guineas – and concluded: “I need not again state how highly gratified I should feel to be intrusted with a work of this importance & if placed in my hands, your Grace may depend on its engaging my best attention & most anxious & unremitting study”.¹²⁷

Campbell, though, was wrong to think that there was a real window of opportunity. In June 1845 the Duke had, at long last, decided to proceed with the mausoleum. Work had been underway on the foundations and crypt since August, and

¹²³ HA, C4/779, Campbell to Duke, 24 November 1845.

¹²⁴ HA, C4/782/1, Campbell to Duke, 15 December 1845.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ See HA, C/4/783, copy letters Burn to McDonald & Leslie, 5 January 1846, and McDonald & Leslie to Burn, 12 January 1846.

¹²⁷ HA, C4/782/2, Campbell to Duke, 17 January 1846.

the cost of this and an unexpectedly large balance of £1,293 2s 11d due to the London Marble and Stone Company for the staircase¹²⁸ meant that there was no “spare” £7,000 available for the equestrian statue.

Four days later, the Duke reined Campbell in. His draft letter begins with polite irritation that Campbell had contacted others about the pedestal, when he could “have made [it] subservient to [his] own view”, but then the Duke squared up to his inability to finance another grand project:

I find (however reluctantly it may be) that I must give up the idea of the equestrian statue, and satisfy myself with the colossal bust of ~~which you~~ [word crossed out] ~~you~~ [modelled or moulded] for me _ Be so good therefore as to occupy yourself with the casting of it, in bronze; I shall avail myself of the proposition you have made to me of 500 [guineas]¹²⁹

Campbell cast the bust in early March 1846 (Fig.98)¹³⁰ and it was apparently finished on 20 March 1847.¹³¹

That should have been the end of the matter, but both men were loath to give up the equestrian statue. In mid March 1848 Campbell wrote from London to inform the Duke that he had “received from Rome the assurance of being permitted to take a cast of the celebrated Equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, on the condition, that I guarantee the Government against damage & agree to give a copy of the cast to be deposited in the Capitol”.¹³² He had just written to his friend in Rome, asking him to agree the conditions on his behalf, and was making arrangements to “very shortly” travel out to Rome “to superintend personally the execution of [the] cast”. An “agreement” had already been made “for erecting the scaffolding, & preparing the moulds, & completing the cast”.

It might be thought that this was all Campbell’s initiative, but the letter concludes with a reference to the “distinguished charge Your Grace has confided to

¹²⁸ This was over £700 more than the Duke was expecting to pay. He believed he had not been credited with £500, but soon discovered he had never made that payment: see Duke to Brown, 4 July and 11 July 1845 (HA, C4/116/9 and 10). The Duke’s letter to Brown of 2 August (C4/124) suggests that the coffers were empty. The full balance was eventually paid on 7 September 1846, after the London Marble Company turned down a request for a discount for “immediate payment”: see HA, C4/116/11, Jacob to Duke, 4 September 1846; F2/1001/4, with receipt dated 7 September 1846; and C4/116/12, Jacob to Richard Rutherford, 7 September 1846.

¹²⁹ HA, C4/782/3, draft letter Duke to Campbell, 21 January 1846.

¹³⁰ See NLS, MS 146, f.62, Duke to Campbell, 9 March 1846.

¹³¹ HA, Bundle 1001, Campbell to Duke, 20 March 1847.

¹³² HA, Bundle 1000, Campbell to Duke, 15 or 16 March 1848.

me". The Duke was much less committed, but in his draft reply, dated 24 March, he crossed out the words "I do not consider that I have authorized the work to be commenced", substituted "If we are to proceed in our negotiation", and then moved on to try to work out an arrangement for "partial payments" at "certain stated periods".¹³³

By 8 April, the date of his next letter, Campbell had arranged to leave for Italy exactly a week later.¹³⁴ He confirmed that the cost would be £6,000 and engaged to complete the statue within two years of commencing to take the cast. As far as payments were concerned, he suggested £1,500 when the plaster cast had been begun, £1,000 after it had been finished, four instalments of £500 each during the preparation of the bronze cast, and the final £1,500 upon completion.

There is then the totally unexpected, written agreement: "& according to Your Graces desire I shall complete the moulds & cast the statue at Hamilton Palace, where you have been so kind as [to] offer me every facility, as well as a shed for the purpose".

Campbell was so keen to resolve everything and proceed that "he was perfectly willing to hand over two old & valuable Policies" on his life, worth £1,500, to get the first instalment of £1,500 from the Duke.

But it was not to be. Five days before he was due to depart, the Duke brought down the final curtain on the project, although he held out hope of resuming it at a later date. He referred obliquely to the revolutions that had just brought down Louis-Philippe and Metternich and led to the start of insurrections in Rome and Milan on 15 and 18 March, but his chief concern was plainly financial:

You are a bolder man, my good M^r Campbell, than I am _ to go to Rome & to engage in the taking a cast of Marcus Aurelius, whilst England & Italy are in such confusion _ I am sorry, after what I have written, to hesitate, & to desire that you will suspend for the moment your intended work _ I see the danger of your not being able on your side to carry on the work; whilst on my side, I begin to fear the possibility of not being able to pay for it _ I do not [?renounce] altogether the idea, but I must postpone it _ Your project of payment is most just _ I have nothing to complain of in it, unless it is, that I might possibly wish to throw the whole over three years instead of two _ Mess^{rs} Coutts do business for me, which

¹³³ *Ibid.*, Duke to Campbell, 24 March 1848.

¹³⁴ HA, Bundle 1001, Campbell to Duke, 8 April 1848.

will facilitate our reciprocal arrangements; but untill the present storm is a little blown over I must forbid you to proceed _¹³⁵

The reason for this is not hard to find. The Duke was eighty and needed to get on with the chapel part of the mausoleum. He pulled the rug out from under Campbell's feet on 10 April. Ten days later, Brown called upon the architect David Bryce in Edinburgh and, later the same day, wrote to ask him to come to Hamilton Palace on the 25th.¹³⁶ This was to enable the Duke to decide whether to employ Bryce, and a favourable interview soon led to a series of drawings, quarrying and the construction of the main part of the mausoleum.

Campbell must have been distraught. The equestrian statue was probably the best chance he was likely to get to produce another colossal sculpture, after his dilatoriness in completing the monuments to the 4th Earl of Hopetoun (c.1824-34) and the Duke of Wellington (1828-c.1847), and completely in line with his deep interest in Classical sculpture.

The Duke, too, must have deeply regretted his decision. The proposal was an extension of his purchases of the porphyry busts of the two Roman Emperors in 1832 and of Greek vases in 1836 and 1837; but as he gave at least two of his best vases to Beckford, it can be argued that it led to a much more active interest and involvement with Classical art and architecture. The very idea of an adapted copy of *Marcus Aurelius* in the grounds seems to have inspired the Duke to mount a campaign, involving friends and others in London, Paris and Rome, to acquire good plaster casts of Classical statues for the ground floor of the palace in the early 1840s and to concentrate on securing the black basalt bust of the *Emperor Vespasian* and a bronze *Jupiter Serapis* at the Strawberry Hill sale in 1842. The copy would have complemented the Classical-style architecture of the palace, acted as an "introduction" to the Classical material in the palace, connected up with the three busts of Roman Emperors in porphyry and basalt, and made a very large contribution to visual "continuity".

Above all, though, the decision to give up the statue deprived the Duke of an extremely powerful statement of his own importance, status and regal lineage, which

¹³⁵ NLS, MS 146, f.64, Duke to Campbell, 10 April 1848.

¹³⁶ HTHL, HELB 1846-48, p.321, Brown to Bryce, 20 April 1848.

would also have given some visual support to his claim to be the rightful heir to the throne of Scotland. It seems that the Duke saw the adapted *Marcus Aurelius* as a riposte to the equestrian monument to *George III*, based on *Marcus Aurelius*, which Richard Westmacott had undertaken for George IV between 1821 and 1831 (Windsor Great Park),¹³⁷ and the glut of equestrian monuments to the (Tory) Duke of Wellington. Glasgow and Edinburgh had both agreed to erect statues to the Iron Duke in 1840 and the 10th Duke had subscribed £200 towards the former and £100 to the latter.¹³⁸ The Duke had actually proposed the Glasgow testimonial at the first public meeting on 18 February 1840 and served as President of the Glasgow Wellington Memorial Committee.¹³⁹ Over the next four years, he corresponded with the sculptor Baron Carlo Marochetti and his own founder, Soyer, who got the contract to cast the statue. As he was in the south of England, dealing with the aftermath of Beckford's death, he was able to avoid the inauguration ceremony on Royal Exchange Flags in October 1844.

An adapted copy of *Marcus Aurelius* could have been set up on the Northern Avenue as a very pointed response to Westmacott's *George III*, at the end of the similarly tree-lined Long Walk in Windsor Great Park, or erected closer to the palace, in a dynamic visual relationship with the North Front and Hamilton Mausoleum.

The lack of a major piece of sculpture in the Low Parks must have become an increasing cause for concern to the Duke, and it was something that he tried to ameliorate, by additions to the mausoleum, during the last two years of his life.

The Hamilton Mausoleum

The Hamilton Mausoleum is a thesis in itself. Thankfully, the contribution of the British architects has already been examined by Michael Allan¹⁴⁰ and there is no need to go over the drawings by David Hamilton, Goodridge and David Bryce, one by one, as he did. Here the discussion can be confined to the introduction of new archival material and the way that the gestation of the mausoleum relates to the Duke's patronage and collecting outlined up to now.

¹³⁷ See Busco 1994, pp.68-9.

¹³⁸ HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.79, Brown to Robert Bauchop, 18 December 1840.

¹³⁹ For further information and references, see Ward-Jackson 1990.

¹⁴⁰ Allan 1976.

The first main finding must be that the Duke sought ideas from foreign artists at an early stage – as he had done with the north block – and that he asked Charles Percier in 1829-30 to prepare designs based on Bramante's *tempietto* in the convent of S. Pietro in Montorio, in Rome. There can be no doubt about this. On 20 January 1830 Percier confirmed in a letter to the Duke: "The rounded colonnaded temple that Bramante erected at S. Pietro in Montorio will be the prototype, apart from changes to some details".¹⁴¹ Interestingly, directly above this Percier noted: "My nephew, who will deliver this letter to you, will have the honour of presenting you his design for a part of the interior of the Pantheon. He will be working on the sepulchral monument project that you intend to put up in Hamilton."

The key point to appreciate is that, over the next eleven years, the Duke moved away from an Italian renaissance design to an austere Classical design that matched his acquisitions of Classical items and plaster casts of Classical statues and the proposed adapted copy of *Marcus Aurelius*.

Late in 1840 William Burn and David Hamilton were both asked to submit sketches for the proposed mausoleum.¹⁴² David Hamilton's 1841 proposals¹⁴³ included a developed design that would eventually form the basis for the Hamilton Mausoleum (Fig.99),¹⁴⁴ and in July 1841 he was requested to supply the working drawings for the crypt,¹⁴⁵ for a site directly to the east of the palace.

After Hamilton was struck down in January-February 1842, William Beckford's Bath architect H.E. Goodridge took over the project. In 1841 Goodridge had submitted designs for the mausoleum, which seem to reflect a keen awareness of the Duke's interest in Atlantes and caryatids and their use in the palace. Goodridge proposed, in pen and ink designs and related watercolour views, decorating both the exterior and interior of his design with caryatid-angels and, in effect, continuing the caryatid theme into the grounds (Fig.100).¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ HA, Bundle 1002, Percier to Duke, 20 January 1830.

¹⁴² See HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.95.

¹⁴³ See HA, drawings 11-20.

¹⁴⁴ HA, drawing 20; see also the related designs, drawings 17 and 18, and the Duke's "original Sketches", M15/29, on paper with the watermarked date 1842.

¹⁴⁵ See HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.255, Brown to Hamilton, 17 July 1841.

¹⁴⁶ See HA, drawings 69 and 6, and an elevation in the RIBA. A signed watercolour view of the proposed mausoleum with the palace behind it is at Lennoxlove. Figure 100 is a detail from a similar, unsigned watercolour purchased by the National Museums Scotland in 2005. The "Alterations to Hamilton Palace" exhibited by Goodridge at the 1842 Royal Academy exhibition (no.1036) was

Goodridge very much hoped that he could convince the Duke of the superiority of his own designs and gain creative control of the undertaking, but the discovery, in January 1842, that the chosen site was running with water at a depth of about twelve feet¹⁴⁷ led to its deferral – much to his annoyance.¹⁴⁸

It was decided that the mausoleum would be built on “Templehill”, to the north-east of the palace, and preparations resumed in the summer of 1845, when the palace was almost completed. In 1846 Goodridge drew up a wide variety of designs to entice the Duke. These included mausolea decorated, on the inside and outside, with many statues,¹⁴⁹ which would have compensated for the lack of other sculpture in the park. However, Goodridge also developed his earlier ideas of decorating the mausoleum with caryatid figures (Fig.101). One design, based on what might be called David Hamilton’s masterplan, has a lantern adorned with caryatid-angels,¹⁵⁰ while a drawing for the interior develops the deep coffering on the dome and angels on the drum in his 1841 proposal (Fig.102).¹⁵¹

Goodridge must have felt that these designs would have appealed to the Duke, but the premier peer of Scotland became increasingly annoyed with his flying visits, discourtesy, failure to obey instructions, abysmal control and superintendence of the sub-contractors, executed work, gross overexpenditure and non payment of people.¹⁵² In 1848 he decided to work up David Hamilton and his own designs for the exterior, and replaced Goodridge (who no longer had the backing of Beckford) with David Bryce. Very interestingly, however, one of Bryce’s drawings seems to be a serious

probably related to these watercolours. On 20 August 1841 Brown sent the Duke £50 that he wanted “to give to Mr Goodrich Architect from Bath” (HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.280) and this can be interpreted as payment for some of these designs. Goodridge charged £105 for designs for the mausoleum in 1846: see HA, F2/1125.

¹⁴⁷ See HTHL, HELB 1840-42, pp.393-4 and 400.

¹⁴⁸ Goodridge still believed that it was possible to build on the site. He referred to the deferral of the mausoleum in a letter to the Duke dated 11 May 1842 (HA, C4/136/6) and his comment “it will afford time for mature consideration of all its parts so as to avoid alterations, a thing at times if possible to be avoided”, is a barbed criticism of the Duke’s standard practice of changing things during construction or implementation.

¹⁴⁹ HA, drawings 3 and 4, and the drawings in the RIBA.

¹⁵⁰ HA, drawings 1 and 2.

¹⁵¹ HA, drawing 5.

¹⁵² See HTHL, HELB 1846-48, pp.121-3, 125-6, 182-5, 212, 225, 231, 238-40, 253, 305-7, 309-10 and 315-6. The problems with Goodridge climaxed in 1849 over his work on the Beckford Library: see HTHL, HELB 1848-50, pp.125-6, 135-6, 174-9 and 196-7.

exercise, undertaken by Bryce after discussion with the Duke,¹⁵³ to develop Goodridge's ideas. In a drawing dated 13 May 1848, Bryce proposed placing large angels holding raised crowns on the interior of the drum (Fig.103),¹⁵⁴ and angels in the spandrels, in a way that would have complemented the Atlantes immediately inside the palace.

This was very good "continuity", but the Baroque look clashed with the stark Classicism of the proposed exterior. It could be contended that the exterior of the palace and the Atlantes and black marble staircase jarred in the same way, and that the Duke had accepted this, but by now the Duke was much more Classically orientated. He therefore decided to match the Classical exterior, which was heavily influenced by the Tomb of Cecilia Metella on the Appian Way, with an interior modelled on one of the most famous and certainly best preserved Classical buildings in Rome: the Pantheon. The reference to the drawing of the interior of the Pantheon in Percier's letter in 1830¹⁵⁵ strongly suggests that Percier was intending such a treatment, and that, after eighteen years of cogitation and experimentation, the Duke finally opted for Roman Imperial grandeur (Fig.104) at the expense of "caryatid continuity".

In 1850-1 the Duke began to develop ideas for enriching the mausoleum. Bryce produced a design for an elaborate marble floor,¹⁵⁶ which would be laid, with some revision, after the Duke's death by Wallace and Whyte (Fig.105).¹⁵⁷ At the same time thought was given to placing two recumbent guardian lions, and carving heads – said to represent *Life, Death, and Immortality*¹⁵⁸ or *Time, Death and Eternity*¹⁵⁹ – on the keystones of the three arches at the entrance to the crypt, on the east side of the mausoleum.

¹⁵³ Following their initial meeting on 25 April, the Duke wrote to Bryce on 4 May 1848 asking him to bring his sketches, "that we may have some conversation before they are reduced to geometrical precision": see HTHL, HELB 1846-48, p.324, and also p.327.

¹⁵⁴ HA, drawing 47.

¹⁵⁵ HA, Bundle 1002, Percier to Duke, 20 January 1830.

¹⁵⁶ HA, drawing 51, dated 13 May 1851.

¹⁵⁷ The "Account of the Expenses of Building the Mausoleum at Hamilton Palace, Keepers Lodge there and Gas Work at Smiddycoft" [hereafter Mausoleum Accounts], in Hamilton Town House Library, records that Wallace and Whyte were paid £300 on 15 February 1856, £500 on 9 June 1856 and the "balance of Account" of £814 19s 8d on 17 February 1857 for "Marble floor of Mausoleum &c" (p.17).

¹⁵⁸ See *Scotsman*, 9 May 1857, p.2.

¹⁵⁹ Ritchie exhibited "sketch models" of the "emblematic heads" under these titles at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1863.

The *Lions* were each carved from a massive block of freestone by Alexander Handyside Ritchie (1804-70), after the Duke's death (Fig.106),¹⁶⁰ and were colossal variants of the small marble lions at the base of Canova's tomb monument to Pope Clement XIII in St Peter's in Rome (completed in 1792). The basic idea for them can be traced back to at least 12 May 1848, when they appear to the sides of one of Bryce's sectional drawings for the mausoleum, facing away from the building.¹⁶¹ They may have been dropped or simply placed "on the back-burner" after that, because they are omitted from other well developed drawings,¹⁶² but were fully incorporated in the design of the entrance to the crypt during 1851.

Remarkably, the bronze doors to the entrance of the chapel were a very late add-on to the project.¹⁶³ In June 1850 the Duke wrote to the picture-dealer Samuel Woodburn asking for information about "the bronze doors of Florence". His letter puzzled Woodburn, because the Duke seems to have mentioned that the doors he was interested in had been brought from Pisa.¹⁶⁴ On 26 June, Woodburn provided a few lines about Ghiberti's *Gates of Paradise* on the Baptistery in Florence, and informed the Duke that "The Emperor of Russia" had had moulds taken for "similar doors to a Church which he was building at Petersburg" and that these "were cast in Florence and now exist in bronze in Petersburg".¹⁶⁵ Two days later, Woodburn followed this up with further details about the *Gates of Paradise* that he had obtained from Dr Gustav Waagen, who had a plaster copy in the Berlin Museum. The ever-enterprising dealer assured the Duke he would be able to obtain "the necessary permission to have casts in bronze" and actually had "a very able person who is willing to go to Florence and do them".¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ On 13 March 1851 Ritchie received £65 for the "Cherubs &c" on the interior of the mausoleum. Payments of £50 on 24 September 1852 and £228 15s on 27 June 1853 almost certainly relate to the three heads and the *Lions* (HTHL, Mausoleum Accounts, p.17).

¹⁶¹ HA, drawing 46.

¹⁶² Lions are not present on Bryce's proposal for a five-arch entrance to the crypt, HA, drawings 39 and 40. They are included as flanking figures to the single arch entrance on drawing 41. On elevation drawing 44, they are sited to the sides of the mausoleum, facing away from it.

¹⁶³ On 15 May 1849 William Leighton wrote to Bryce, on the Duke's behalf, asking him to send "the Drawings of the Doors to the Vault of the Mausoleum, as also of the Chapel in order that wood may be got and cut of suitable sizes so as to be properly seasoned". Leighton acknowledged receipt of "the drawings for the doors of the Mausoleum" on 26 May: see HTHL, HELB 1848-50, pp.207 and 215.

¹⁶⁴ HA, C4/843A/16, Woodburn to Duke, 26 June 1850.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ HA, C4/843A/17, Woodburn to Duke, 28 June 1850.

Woodburn's letter seems to have convinced the Duke that he should follow the Tsar's example, despite the doorway to the chapel (on the west side of the mausoleum) being much smaller than the *Gates of Paradise*. One assumes that the Duke interpreted Woodburn's comments about Russia as a reference to the copy of the *Gates of Paradise* which was made around 1805 for the west doorway of Kazan Cathedral in St Petersburg,¹⁶⁷ but it is conceivable that he thought Tsar Nicholas I had commissioned a second set, as the great doors for St Isaac's were being produced between 1848 and 1850.

Whichever way he read Woodburn's letter, the idea of a copy of the *Gates of Paradise* must have appealed to the Duke for at least three reasons. The original *Gates* were the most important work of sculpture of the early Italian renaissance and a copy would reflect well on the Duke's connoisseurship; their importance was endorsed by the Tsar of All the Russias; and a copy would neatly commemorate his time in both Italy and Russia.

Fortunately, there was a complete plaster copy of the *Gates* in the Royal Institution in Edinburgh (now the Royal Scottish Academy),¹⁶⁸ and on 31 October 1850 David Bryce wrote to the Secretary of the Board of Manufactures for permission for moulds to be taken. This was granted a week later, on condition that John Steell (1804-91), who was Sculptor in Ordinary to Queen Victoria, would superintend the copying of the casts, the bronze castings were made in Scotland, and the moulds became the property of the Board after the first cast was taken.¹⁶⁹

The result was copies of the lower six of the ten scenes, mounted in much simplified frames (Fig.107), which cost at least £800¹⁷⁰ and were finally installed in 1856.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ See Jaeger 2007, pl.91.

¹⁶⁸ Bought in 1836, the copy had been in Edinburgh since 1837: see NAS, NG1/1/37, pp.96-7, 110 and 124.

¹⁶⁹ HA, Bundle 665, copy of letter from B. Primrose to Bryce, 7 November 1850.

¹⁷⁰ Steell was paid £200 on 9 September 1851, £200 on 5 January 1853 and £400 on 22 May 1854 (HTHL, Mausoleum Accounts, p.17, and HA, F2/1117, p.18). The *Scotsman* of 9 May 1857 records that the doors were produced at Steell's own foundry in Edinburgh, which is what one would expect. Later statements that they were cast by James Milne or Milne and Son of Edinburgh should be discounted.

¹⁷¹ See *Hamilton Advertiser and News Letter*, 19 July 1856, p.2.

It is all too easy to focus on the derivative aspect of the mausoleum and the Duke's lack of originality, and accuse him of having a second-rate, stale mind, but this a very "modern" reaction, which fails to appreciate the importance of Antiquity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and to think seriously about what a patron was trying to achieve. The 10th Duke wanted the Mausoleum to proclaim his status and the finished *Gesamtkunstwerk* did this superbly. The mass of the population could marvel at the height of the building (120 feet), beautifully finished, large slabs and blocks of stone and minimal use of mortar. Those with Classical educations would have realized that the cylindrical form related not just to Roman tombs generally, but to the tombs of Roman Emperors (notably Augustus and Hadrian), and that the colossal *Lions* were royal and imperial symbols, as well as symbols of life and death. Artists and *cognoscenti* seeing the building, bronze doors and *Lions* would immediately have recognized that the Duke had "excellent taste" and was a connoisseur of Classical and Renaissance and later art.

But the real revelation was reserved for those privileged to enter the chapel. Visitors found themselves in a space that was both a version of the temple to all the gods, in Rome, and a Masonic Lodge. They had entered through an "Egyptian" door, which alluded to the popular belief that Freemasonry originated or was practised in Egypt, and was placed in the "correct" (west) position as the entrance to a Lodge. Before them was a "Mosaic Pavement" with Masonic symbols and references, including the circle, Sun, Blazing Star or Glory, steps, ladders, Degrees and processional circuits, and directly opposite a black marble "pedestal" behind which the Worshipful Master might be expected to sit. A senior Mason in this position, in the east, represented King Solomon, the builder of the Temple in Jerusalem, seated upon his throne. However, what the confused and awe-struck visitor actually beheld, on the plinth, was an ancient Egyptian sarcophagus containing the body of the former Grand Master Mason of Scotland and premier peer of Scotland!¹⁷²

Both the palace and mausoleum positively crackled with references to great kings, emperors, pharaohs and popes. All the visual signals hammered home the

¹⁷² The coffin had been made for a lady called Maaru. It was much too small for the Duke and there are gruesome stories about how he was "made to fit". Later, the word "Mosé" (child) on the coffin was read as a reference to the Old Testament leader Moses, but it is not clear if the Duke was aware of this interpretation: see the *Glasgow Herald*, 5 April 1921, p.3.

message that the 10th Duke of Hamilton and House of Hamilton were of regal status and had to be shown maximum respect and deference.

It was one of the most accomplished projections of status and power in Britain – and all the more fascinating because it drew so heavily on the past and was financed with such inadequate funds.

The Last Years: The Expansion and Display of the Collection, 1832-1852

The 10th Duke continued to collect during the last twenty years of his life. He was severely restrained by the *grands projets*, but nevertheless made significant additions to the collection. What has not been appreciated up until now is how much effort and resources the Duke put into acquiring Classical and Classical-related items in this period. The last chapter begins with some of these acquisitions and then moves on to examine the purchase of two Napoleonic busts, the focused acquisition of works depicting or associated with the Medici, and the “rounding off” of the collection. We end with a review of the way the Duke displayed all his material to emphasize and enhance his own status and achievements.

Collecting Classical Items

While in Paris in 1836, the Duke could not resist the temptation to attend the “most interesting sale of Greek and Etruscan vases” owned by Edmé-Antoine Durand. As he informed Beckford: “All the most well-informed antiquaries and archaeologists have attended and I could not stay away _ I ended up buying one of the most beautiful [vases] you have ever seen.”¹ This was the Athenian early-fifth-century BC red-figured *lekythos* (Fig.108) painted with an Easterner riding a camel, with an entourage of ecstatic followers (now in the British Museum).² At 2,045 francs, the oil-flask was the ninth most expensive item in the sale, but the *Supplément* to the catalogue and annotated cuttings in the Hamilton archive reveal that the Duke also bought at least another vase,³ four fragments of glass⁴ and a ring.⁵

The Duke’s letter makes clear that he would have loved to have given in to other “seductions”, but was constrained by his “undertaking” in Scotland. A year later, though, he purchased another Athenian vase (Fig.109): an early-fifth-century

¹ Bod, MS. Beckford c.20, ff.30-1, Duke to Beckford, 9 May 1836 (in French).

² Witte 1836, pp.34-5, lot 97. The Duke annotated cuttings of the catalogue entry “mon vase de Durand” (HA, F2/1069/14 and 12).

³ Witte 1836, p.197, lot 577. The *Supplément* records that this was sold to Broendsted (who was buying for the British Museum) for 96 francs, but the Duke annotated a cutting of the catalogue entry “mon petit vase de Durand” (HA, F2/1069/13).

⁴ Witte 1836, p.360, lots 1543 and 1544 and part of lot 1545. According to the *Supplément*, “Le duc de Hamilton” paid 192 francs 50 centimes for these items.

⁵ Witte 1836, p.436, lot 2110: “Grosse bague, sur laquelle est gravée *Niké*, ou plutôt *Éris*, entre deux palmes. Grav. en creux.” The *Supplément* records that “le duc de Hamilton” bought lot 2110 for 75 francs.

oinoche which shows Apollo returning to Greece on a griffin and being welcomed by his sister Artemis and mother Leto (now in the British Museum). The wine-jug had come up for sale, while he was in Paris with his sick daughter, at the auction of the collection of Greek vases found in the Etruscan tombs at Vulci, on land owned by Prince Canino (Napoleon's younger brother Lucien Bonaparte). It is an excellent example and a rare representation of the subject, but it seems that the Duke acquired this particular piece because it was the first lot in the sale of Lucien Bonaparte's collection⁶ and demonstrated his interest in Napoleon and support of the Bonaparte family.

The *lekythos* and *oinoche* appear to have been given to Beckford, either by the Duke or the Duchess.⁷ They were included in the posthumous sale of part of Beckford's collection in Bath in 1845,⁸ and consequently have always been seen as Beckford pieces. Ian Jenkins recently noted that the *oinoche* had been purchased by the Duke in 1837,⁹ but this is the first time that the much more important *lekythos* has been traced back to him.

Unfortunately, we do not know when the vases were given to Beckford, but it would seem reasonable to think that the gift was made in the late 1830s and took place before the Duke really started to concentrate on collecting Classical items.

Exactly what galvanized the Duke is hard to determine. He had moved from collecting Classical cameos and poor Classical sculptures, such as the battered bust of the *Cnidian Aphrodite* now in the British Museum, to the five bronze statues after the Antique (wrongly) associated with Francis I of France and the porphyry busts of Roman Emperors from the George Watson Taylor sale. Then, in the late 1830s-early 1840s a number of "Classical" commissions and projects – the Atlantes, proposed adapted copy of *Marcus Aurelius*, and completion and arrival of a colossal bronze

⁶ Witte 1837, p.1. A cutting of the entry for lot 1 (HA, F2/1069/15) is annotated by the Duke "My vase bought at Paris at Prince Canino's sale _ August 1837 _". The *oinoche* was auctioned on 8 May, so "August 1837" is presumably the date of the annotation.

⁷ A cutting from the Durand catalogue relating to lot 95 (HA, F2/1069/14) is annotated by the Duke "Etruscan vase donné à Pugneche". This means that he either gave the Duchess lot 95 (which was sold to Broendsted for 701 francs) or the *lekythos* lot 97, which was described on the reverse.

⁸ Both pieces are illustrated in the account of the sale in the *Illustrated London News*, 6 December 1845, p.365. The *oinoche* (lot 418) fetched 60 guineas and was bought by the British Museum shortly thereafter. The *lekythos* (lot 419) was purchased for 210 guineas by the future 11th Duke of Hamilton and was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 864) as the "Beckford Vase".

⁹ Ostergard 2001 p.367.

bust of *Jupiter Olympien* by Soyer¹⁰ – come to a head. They may be said to have provided a momentum of their own and to have encouraged the Duke to complement his holding with additional, supporting pieces of “Classical” sculpture. Moreover, by now he would have known that Buckingham Palace had a large ground-floor Sculpture Gallery and have felt the need to respond to this. Thus we have a potent combination of motives, with natural development being reinforced by the Duke’s preoccupation with “continuity of display” and his determination to match or, better still, surpass other royal and aristocratic collectors.

In the spring of 1840 the Duke turned to William Richard Hamilton, the former secretary to Lord Elgin and man chiefly responsible for actually getting the Elgin Marbles to Britain, for advice on obtaining good casts of Classical sculptures for the ground floor of the palace. Hamilton began his suggestions with the Townley *Venus* in the British Museum¹¹ and the Duke wrote to inquire if a cast was available. It was not, but the Museum offered to make one for six to eight guineas.¹² Both the British Museum and later Hamilton¹³ mentioned the successors of Sarti, Loft and Company or Loft and Scoular, in Dean Street, Soho. The Duke may have already approached them, but certainly pursued these leads.¹⁴ However, he soon realized that the selection available in London was limited and often poor in quality.

The Duke turned to Soyer. He must have attempted to buy a copy of the “Minerve Justiniane” from Soyer,¹⁵ but the founder only had a three-foot reduction and told him he would need to procure a full-size copy of “this beautiful statue” from Rome. In May 1841, if not earlier, the Duke wrote to the Roman banker Alessandro Torlonia to try to get casts of three statues in the Giustiniani Collection.¹⁶ Torlonia made inquiries and discovered that it would be impossible to obtain copies of works

¹⁰ Soyer gave the price of a “Grand Jupiter Olympien” as 8,000 francs in his letter to the Duke dated 28 August 1833 (HA, Bundle 1002). The “Jupiter Olympien” was invoiced to the Duke at 8,000 francs, with a payment for Customs duty in London, under the date 1840 on Soyer & Ingé’s bill of 24 8bre 1842 (HA, F2/1069/31).

¹¹ HA, Bundle 753, Hamilton to Duke, 6 June 1840.

¹² HA, C4/762, J. Forshall to Duke, 27 July 1840.

¹³ HA, Bundle 753, Hamilton to Duke, 14 August 1840.

¹⁴ The Hamilton archive contains a printed advertisement issued by Loft and Company, dated February 1839 (Bundle 910). The back has been annotated with measurements for “Flora”, “Isis”, “Juno” and “Susanna”. The word “no” has been written against “Juno” and small crosses placed against the others.

¹⁵ See HA, C4/840/12, Soyer to Duke, undated but with a reference to Napoleon’s state funeral in Paris, which took place on 15 December 1840.

¹⁶ See HA, Bundle 1127, Torlonia to Duke, 15 and 24 June 1841

still owned by the family, but that a cast could be acquired of the *Minerva Giustiniani*¹⁷ (which had been sold to Pope Pius VII by Lucien Bonaparte in 1817 and was on display in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican Museum). The necessary permission was obtained and the cast was made and shipped to London in 1842.¹⁸

The Duke still wanted casts of other important statues and asked his friend Charles de Beauvau, Prince of Craon (1793-1864),¹⁹ to find out what was on offer in Paris. The Prince went to “Dubois” and sent the Duke a catalogue of the “Platres du Musée” – presumably the Musée du Louvre.²⁰ He noted that it only gave approximate heights for the casts and that they might not be sufficient, as the Duke had apparently wanted accurate measurements, but promised to get another catalogue next time he was in Paris and send it as soon as possible.

How much came of this is still unclear, but it seems the Duke had to fall back on Loft and Company, who sent “Casts of the Statues” to Leith in April 1843.²¹

While all this was going on the Duke was able to buy two important Classical sculptures at the auction of Horace Walpole’s collection, which was sold off in April-May 1842 to pacify the creditors of the 7th Earl and Countess Waldegrave. Beckford used Robert Hume to buy many items at the famous Strawberry Hill sale,²² but the Duke seems to have concentrated exclusively on the two Classical pieces, which were both catalogued as being made of “basaltes”. On the morning it came up for sale, Hume received instructions from the Duke to bid up to 250 guineas for the small bust of *Jupiter Serapis*, from the Barberini Collection, that had been sold by Sir William Hamilton to the Dowager Duchess of Portland at the same time as the “Portland Vase”.²³ Hume bought the bust, which had been heavily restored by Anne

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Torlonia to Duke, 24 June (with the Duke’s draft reply) and 3 November 1841.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Torlonia to Duke, 16 April 1842. The cast supplied by Torlonia was probably the “plaster statue of Minerva – 6 ft. 9 in. high – on painted pedestal” sold by Christie, Manson and Woods at the Hamilton Palace sale on 12 November 1919, lot 158.

¹⁹ Charles de Beauvau took part in the invasion of Russia as a carabineer officer and was badly wounded at Voronovo. He became *aide-de-camp* to the Duke of Feltre, Napoleon’s Minister of War, and rejoined the Emperor after his return from Elba. The friendship of the Duke and the Prince was based on their involvement with Russia, support of Napoleon and the Bonaparte dynasty, and collecting. In 1852, after the endorsement of his *coup d’état* and the promulgation of the new Constitution, Louis-Napoleon appointed the Prince a Senator and he usually voted with the government.

²⁰ HA, Bundle 968, Beauvau to Duke, 19 July 1842.

²¹ See HA, Bundle 753, Carroll to Duke, 8 April 1843.

²² See Bod, MS. Beckford c.22.

²³ *Ibid.*, f.210, Hume to Beckford, 12 May 1842, and Robins 1842, p.137, lot 82.

Seymour Damer in 1787,²⁴ for £78 15s; and eleven days later, on 20 May, he secured the bust of the *Emperor Vespasian*, with a head of basalt and draped body of agate or alabaster, for £220 10s (Fig.110). Walpole's prized *Vespasian* had been in the collection of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni,²⁵ and was sold with this provenance,²⁶ but this is unlikely to have had a major bearing on the acquisition, as the Duke does not seem to have known that his Tasso tapestries had been owned by the Cardinal.

Hume's bill for the *Jupiter* and *Vespasian* came to £316 16s 9d²⁷ and the Duke gave him a draft for £340, which included money for Hume's time and expenses, on 30 May.²⁸ Hume acknowledged the payment two days later, on 1 June,²⁹ and in July the Duke annotated Hume's reference to the two works: "Jupiter & Vespasian precious specimens of antique work, & the qualities of la matiere (the stone) most rare & precious __ The Jupiter is of diminutive Size".³⁰

The Duke may have thought in May-June about displaying his two porphyry busts and the *Vespasian* on or near the black marble staircase. Once he had all three together, he realized that this would be a brilliant move, both in terms of the projection of status and power and "continuity of display", and ended up placing the Ottoboni/Walpole *Vespasian* on the first landing and the two porphyry busts in the hallway, under the cantilevered double staircase (Fig.97).

The Duke's obligations probably prevented him from buying other Classical items or, indeed, other works of art at the Strawberry Hill sale. The Beckford-Hume correspondence in the Bodleian records that Beckford definitely bought the small bronze head of *Caligula*, with silver eyes, from Herculaneum,³¹ but what is most intriguing about the Beckford-Hume letters is that the Duke and Beckford were not discussing their buying intentions. Both men were acting independently of one another, and the Duke wanted to keep his collecting confidential. Hume conveyed

²⁴ See Lewis and Wallace 1944, pp.272-3.

²⁵ Walpole informed Richard West on 2 October 1740 that he had bought the bust at "Cardinal Ottoboni's sale" for £22: see Lewis, Lam and Bennett 1948, I, pp.232-3. The editors believed that Beckford purchased *Vespasian* at the Strawberry Hill sale.

²⁶ Robins 1842, p.234, lot 73.

²⁷ HA, F2/1042/28.

²⁸ Noted on *ibid.*

²⁹ HA, Bundle 1001, Hume to Duke, 1 June 1842.

³⁰ The Duke also initialled and dated his annotation "Hamilton Palace July 1842". *Jupiter* was subsequently described as of green basalt and 7½ inches high (including the black pedestal supplied by Hume): Robinson 1863, p.3, no.35.

³¹ See Bod, MS. Beckford c.22, ff.209-10, 216 and 221, and Robins 1842, p.155, lot 68.

information about the Duke's purchases to Beckford, his main customer at the time, but asked him not to reveal this to his son-in-law.³²

As we shall see, the Duke would go on to buy more Classical items, but during this late period he also added extensively to his library and developed two of his "special areas of interest": items relating to the Bonapartes and works associated with the Medici.

Collecting More Napoleonica

The first of the Duke's late Bonaparte acquisitions – a second marble bust of the Princess Pauline Borghese – has been entirely forgotten. Unlike the others, it came about more by chance than resolution and pursuit. In May 1838 Charles de Beauvau wrote to the Duke:

Do you still feel like having the bust of Princess Borghese that we saw together at Laneuville? The owner Corvisart, the nephew of Napoleon's old doctor who was one of my old comrades in arms, is offering it to me. He thinks it is for me and is asking me for 100 louis (2,400 francs). If it suits you, tell me what you want to pay and I will argue your interests as if they were my very own.³³

The matter proceeded slowly, partly because the Prince went off to Italy for four months. In May 1839 he advised the Duke, in a postscript, that "As the owner of the Borghese bust has gone to the country, I cannot carry out your commission. It will have to wait my return" [from another visit to Italy].³⁴ At the beginning of March 1840 the Prince reported that Corvisart wanted 3,000 francs and that he had offered 2,000.³⁵ He wondered if the Duke would go halfway and offer 2,500 francs? The Duke's response has still to be tracked down, but on 12 April 1840 the Prince was able to "announce [...] the conclusion of the purchase you asked me to undertake":

After quite a battle with Monsieur Corvisart I eventually managed to get him to deliver the bust of the Princess for the sum of two thousand three hundred francs. I am therefore in possession of it in my lodgings in the Rue du Luxembourg. Please therefore give me your instructions so that I may know where to send it to you. I shall

³² See *ibid.*, ff.210 and 224.

³³ HA, Bundle 914, Beauvau to Duke, 6 May 1838. The Prince's letters are in French and translations have been used here. The bust of Princess Pauline may have been owned by Napoleon's personal physician, but the reference to Laneuville suggests that Dr Corvisart's nephew had bought it on the art market.

³⁴ HA, Bundle 968, Beauvau to Duke, 29 May 1839.

³⁵ HA, Bundle 708, Beauvau to Duke, 2 March 1840.

take every precaution with the packing so that the bust does not suffer from the journey and arrives intact.³⁶

Later letters, including one from the Prince,³⁷ confirm that the bust was, indeed, purchased for 2,300 francs. It evidently joined the bust of the Princess already in the Duke's private apartments, but is difficult to identify. The 1835 inventory records the existing bust in the Duke's Sitting Room, as "A Marble Bust of the Princess Borghese on Granite Column and red porphery Plinths", valued at £130,³⁸ while the 1853 inventory simply notes "a rich marble Bust of the Princess Birghese" in the Duke's Bed Room and "a finely sculptured Marble Bust of the Princess Borghese" in the Duke's Cabinet.³⁹ The first of the 1853 entries has subsequently been annotated "By Bosio, given to the Duke by the Princess" and the second "By Canova, the gift of the Princess". One might infer from this that the bust attributed to François-Joseph Bosio was the new addition, but this is little more than speculation at this stage.⁴⁰

Nonetheless, we now know that in 1840 the Duke acquired a bust of Pauline Borghese and that he thought it sufficiently good to place with the existing bust, which had almost certainly been given him by the Princess. Above all, though, we are left with the extraordinary spectacle of a married man, with a family, choosing to underline his admiration for a notorious dead woman by a second, late purchase and then going on to display both busts in his main private rooms.

The Duchess cannot have been enraptured, but she supported her husband's attempts to get their son to marry the Princess Marie of Baden, the daughter of the adopted daughter of Napoleon, the Grand Duchess Stéphanie of Baden (1789-1860).⁴¹

³⁶ HA, C4/845, Beauvau to Duke, 12 April 1840.

³⁷ HA, Bundle 708, Beauvau to Duke, 19 June 1840.

³⁸ HA, Volume 1223, p.159.

³⁹ HA, Volume 1228, pp.161 and 164.

⁴⁰ The working theory is that the "Bosio bust" may have been lot 327 in Christie, Manson and Woods' sale of "The Remaining Contents of the Palace" on 13 November 1919. This had been displayed in the re-arranged Tribune and is described as: "A bust of a lady, her hair dressed in the Empire manner, sculptured in statuary marble, by F. Bosio, on pedestal of veined yellow marble, with white base sculptured with a laurel wreath and rosettes." The following lot – "A bust of a gentleman, with Classical drapery, life-size, by Thomas Campbell, Rome, 1822, on similar pedestal to the preceding" – could have been one of Campbell's busts of the 10th Duke, while lot 329 – "A bust of a lady, with plaited hair, life-size, on granite pedestal" – might have been the other bust of Princess Pauline on a different stand.

⁴¹ Stéphanie was the niece of the Empress Josephine's first husband, Alexandre de Beauharnais. After Baden was made part of the Confederation of the Rhine, Napoleon wanted a marriage alliance between the Crown Prince of Baden and his relative. The reigning Grand Duke, Carl Friedrich,

Indeed, it was the Duchess who visited Germany and used her “tact and talent” to ensure that William became engaged to Marie in October 1842 and married her, in Mannheim, on 23 February 1843.⁴²

The Duke’s correspondence with Stepney Cowell from 1839 to 1842⁴³ indicates how keen he was for his son to marry the Princess. We have already seen how the union complemented Queen Victoria’s marriage to Prince Albert, but Napoleonic marriages were becoming increasingly fashionable. Lord Dudley Stuart had already married Christine, daughter of Lucien Bonaparte, and in November 1840 the Russian millionaire Prince Anatole Demidoff wed Princess Mathilde, the daughter of Jerome Bonaparte, former King of Westphalia, and the niece of Napoleon. At the same time, the Baden match was something for a connoisseur really to savour, because the Grand Duchess Stéphanie was the only member of the Bonaparte family to remain in power and maintain her exalted position, and that of her children, after the final defeat of the Emperor.

The Duke almost certainly considered Princess Marie a “Napoleonic acquisition” and there were splendid celebrations, involving a four-mile-long procession, triumphal arches, crowds of 40,000-50,000 and celebration dinners for about 2,800 people, when the Marquis and his “illustrious bride” were received at Hamilton Palace on 14 September 1843. A book with large lithographs of the great event by Maclure and Macdonald of Glasgow was produced⁴⁴ and copies were distributed to family and friends and also handed out later to important visitors to the palace.

The marriage would lead to the acquisition of many more items associated with Napoleon I and Napoleon III (who was a cousin of Princess Marie) by the 10th Duke and the 11th Duke and Duchess. Three years later, the 10th Duke celebrated the

demurred and Napoleon crushed his opposition by adopting Stéphanie and making her the Princess Stéphanie-Napoleon. As the Emperor wanted, the couple were married in the Tuileries Palace in April 1806. Stéphanie’s husband, Carl Ludwig Friedrich, reigned as Grand Duke from 1811 until his death in 1818.

⁴² Cowell assured the Duke, in a letter written on 24 October 1842, that “your Duchess [...] has both tact & talent to carry all things through” (HA, Bundle 1425). For a printed account of the wedding, see HA, C4/958/12.

⁴³ See Appendix 18.

⁴⁴ *Some Brief Particulars Regarding the Arrival of the Marquis of Douglas and His Illustrious Bride, Her Royal Highness The Princess Marie of Baden, at Hamilton Palace, on Thursday, September 14, 1843* (Glasgow, 1843). For an insight into the production process, see HA, Bundle 6291, Maclure and Macdonald to Brown, 12 March 1844.

new era and the birth of the future 12th Duke of Hamilton⁴⁵ with what is unquestionably the most spectacular and significant of them all: Thorvaldsen's colossal, 100-centimetre-high marble bust of *Napoleon Apotheosized* (Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen) (Figs.111-112).

From both a Whig and a collecting standpoint, this was a long overdue addition to the Hamilton Palace Collection, as many other collectors already owned large marble sculptures of Napoleon. The 6th Duke of Devonshire had two colossal busts of the Emperor, at Chatsworth and Chiswick, while the Prince Regent had graciously presented – or unkindly lumbered – the Duke of Wellington with Canova's heroic statue of a nude Napoleon as Mars the peacemaker (Apsley House) in 1816. North of the border, John Waldie had bought a 122-centimetre-high bust of Napoleon, which he believed had been “done in the Studio of Canova [...] under his direction”, during his stay in Rome in 1828.⁴⁶ Shortly afterwards, in the spring of 1829, Alexander Murray of Broughton⁴⁷ had commissioned what became *Napoleon Apotheosized* from Thorvaldsen. Waldie's bust formed part of a large, recently assembled collection at Hendersyde Park, near Kelso, while *Napoleon Apotheosized* was the *chef d'oeuvre* in a group of important sculptures displayed in the marble vestibule of Murray's impressive residence, Cally House, one mile south of Gatehouse of Fleet and about 70 miles south of Hamilton Palace.

The Thorvaldsen bust was an ideal acquisition. It was the most successful glorification of Napoleon in sculpture and by the modern sculptor most respected by

⁴⁵ Princess Marie gave birth to a still-born son in February 1844. William, the future 12th Duke of Hamilton, was born on 12 March 1845.

⁴⁶ Waldie 1859, pp.114-5. Waldie's bust was included in Christie's sale, *The Nineteenth Century*, London, 28 October 1993, lot 184.

⁴⁷ Alexander Murray (1789-1845) was the natural son of the entrepreneur James Murray (1727-99), who tried to turn Gatehouse of Fleet from a single house into the “Glasgow of the South” and had succeeded in establishing four cotton mills by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Alexander Murray married Anne Bingham, the second daughter of the 2nd Earl of Lucan, in 1816. Between 1821 and 1824 Thorvaldsen's studio was apparently working on portrait busts of Anne and one of her sisters (see Sass 1963-5, I, pp.368-80, and III, p.78) and these earlier orders may have encouraged Murray to order a copy of Thorvaldsen's bust of Byron and the bust of Napoleon from Thorvaldsen in 1829: see *ibid.*, I, pp.334-40, II, pp.230-8, and III, pp.76-7 and 97. A letter written by Murray to Thorvaldsen, from Nice on 28 October 1829, reveals that the bust of Napoleon was ordered when Murray was in Rome with his wife in the spring of 1829. Another letter, written by W.H. Gibbs, for Murray, to Thorvaldsen on “Mardi 9. Mars”, which would have been 9 March 1830, confirms that arrangements had been made for “M. M. Torlonia” to pay for the bust of Napoleon. When completed, Gibbs requested that it be handed over to Messrs Torlonia, along with the bust of Byron, which Gibbs had already paid for: see *ibid.*, II, pp.231-2. Murray was M.P. for the stewardry of Kirkcudbright from 1838 until his death on 15 July 1845.

the Duke.⁴⁸ Moreover, the extreme Classicism of the work – including the eagle, luxuriant palm fronds and aegis based on Classical models – accorded perfectly with his concentration on Classical sculpture. As Murray had been regarded as an “Ultra Whig”,⁴⁹ the purchase and possession of the bust could also be interpreted as further proof of the Duke’s complete commitment to the Whig cause.

The Duke sent William Grant, his clerk of works, to buy the bust at the sale of Murray’s collection, which took place at Cally House in January 1846. He concentrated on the “Splendid Bust of Napoleon Bonaparte”⁵⁰ and apparently ignored the busts of Byron and George Washington by Thorvaldsen and Charles James Fox and Wellington by Bartolini which were sold as the very next lots.⁵¹

Grant purchased the *Napoleon* for 211 guineas on 20 January, the seventh day of the sale,⁵² and it was brought to the palace in February and set up in the Tribune.⁵³

The Tribune (Fig.113) was on the main arterial route from the black marble staircase (with the busts of the Roman Emperors) and the first-floor Entrance Hall (with the five bronze copies of Classical statues) to the Long Gallery and the west and east wings of the old palace. It was also where people would gather before going into the New Dining Room, and from now on they congregated under the stern, unblinking gaze of the god-like Emperor. Then, somewhat disconcerted, they went into the Dining Room, where David’s *Napoleon* looked down on them and they found themselves using the Emperor’s 1810 silver-gilt service and making polite conversation with the daughter of the adopted daughter of Britain’s greatest enemy. Later the 11th Duke or his son would place state portraits of Napoleon III and the Empress Eugénie after Winterhalter on the black marble staircase and marble busts of Napoleon III and the Empress Eugénie in the Tribune, along with a huge portrait of Princess Marie by Winterhalter behind the bust of the Emperor Napoleon III and a 52-inch-high model of the victory column surmounted by a statue of Napoleon in the

⁴⁸ The Duke had wanted Thorvaldsen to undertake the equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington for Glasgow: see W.R. Hamilton to Duke, 6 June 1840 (HA, Bundle 753).

⁴⁹ See Murray’s obituary in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, XXIV, October 1845, p.428.

⁵⁰ Tait and Nisbet 1846, p.47, lot 1460.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, lots 1461-1464.

⁵² HA, Bundle 6313, Grant to Brown, 21 January 1846. Grant boasted in the letter that he “had to make use of out & out Management” to obtain the bust for only 211 guineas and had already been offered 1,000 guineas for it. He noted he had “also bought the cannon &c &c_ at prices far, far, below their value”.

⁵³ HTHL, 1835 inventory, “A List of Articles of Vêrtu & Furniture &c lately arrived at the Palace, but not from Bath”, p.1 (hereafter cited as the “not from Bath” list).

Place Vendôme on the table in the very centre of the room,⁵⁴ and the “visual dialogue” would become even more complex and unnatural for a house in industrial Scotland.

The store the 10th Duke set on his new acquisition is underlined by his determined attempt to obtain the “receipt” he believed Thorvaldsen had given Murray for the purchase payment, which would have proved that the Cally House/Hamilton Palace bust had been executed by Thorvaldsen. The four letters are rather complicated and are therefore discussed in Appendix 19, but they also record that the “Eagle” was probably not part of the agreement between Murray and Thorvaldsen in 1829 and that the Italian banker had paid an additional thirty pounds for the bust “on account of the Eagle being added to it”.⁵⁵

Collecting Work Associated with the Medici and Other Portraits

During this period the Duke was also adding to his collection of paintings, but it is self evident that between 1840 and 1847 he was focusing on works relating to the Medici: the most famous family of the Renaissance and the greatest patrons of the age. The Duke had been interested in the Medici since at least the 1790s⁵⁶ and already owned at least four works associated, rightly or wrongly, with some of the principal protagonists. The most important were the *Golden Gospels*, which were believed to have been presented by Pope Leo X to Henry VIII (apparently acquired in 1800), and the *Missal of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici*, written in 1520, with illumination by Matteo da Milano (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin) (which was

⁵⁴ HTHL, 1876 inventory, pp.17 and 84-6.

⁵⁵ See Thomas Nisbet to Robert Brown, 13 February 1846, and John Brown to Montgomery Stewart, 14 February 1846 (HA, C4/769 and C4/768 respectively).

⁵⁶ The 10th Duke's early interest in the Medici is indicated by his friendship with the eminent Pisan historian Monsignor Angelo Fabroni (1732-1803), whose extensive publications included *Laurentii Medicis Magnifici Vita* (2 vols., Pisa, 1784), *Magni Cosmi Medicei Vita* (2 vols., Pisa, 1788-89) and *Leonis X, Pontificis Maximi, Vita* (Pisa, 1797). He had also been acquainted with the Pisan Cavalier Gaetano Mecherini, who translated the Liverpool historian William Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici* into Italian, and actually transmitted a presentation copy of the translation from Mecherini to Roscoe in 1802-3. Douglas, as the Duke then was, wrote a number of letters to Roscoe, praising and encouraging him, and offered to help obtain documents for his *Life of Leo X*. Although Roscoe did not need such assistance, he nevertheless sent Douglas a copy of *Leo X* in June 1805, which greatly pleased him, and sought his assistance in sending a copy to Mecherini. Another friend was Luigi Bossi, who translated Roscoe's *Leo X*, and there is three-way correspondence about this in 1818. See Liverpool Central Library, Roscoe Papers, 339, 1267, 1269, 1271, 1273 and 1274, and HA, Bundle 928.

definitely in his possession by 1819).⁵⁷ By 1835 he also owned a “Portrait of Cooma de Medicis first Great Duke of Etruria [by] Bronzino”, which was in the Old State Bed Room valued at £180,⁵⁸ and “a casket of ebony ornamented with gilt bronze, and oriental stones in relief, formerly belonging to the Medici family”.⁵⁹

In the early 1840s the Duke almost certainly acquired the important (now missing) drawing of the temporary façade of Florence Cathedral, undertaken by Jacopo Sansovino, Andrea del Sarto and others in honour of Pope Leo X’s visit to his native city on 30 November 1515.⁶⁰ Dr Gustav Waagen had seen the sheet in the collection of the London picture-dealer Samuel Woodburn in 1835 and discussed it in *Works of Art and Artists in England*, published three years later.⁶¹ The Duke made some sort of inquiry about the drawing in a letter to Woodburn in October 1840, and Woodburn replied:

The Drawing which your Grace mentions is not Bramante it is by J. Sansovino representing the decorations of the Church of Santa Maria at Florence on the visit of Pope Leo 10th. to that City a long description of this work is in Vasari and many of the decorations were painted in fresco by Andrea del Sarto and other great artists the size including the outside of the frame 3ft. 11½ In by 2 ft 8. and I will sell it for Eighty Pounds.⁶²

The Duke must have succumbed, because the drawing is recorded – as “A Drawing of the Church of S^t. Maria delle Fiore in a maple frame by Sansovino” – in the Ante Room to the Duchess’s Rooms in the Hamilton Palace inventory of the early 1850s.⁶³

In the mid 1840s the Duke dramatically increased his “Medici collection”. He appears to have begun by carefully cherry-picking works associated with the Medici

⁵⁷ Clarke 1819, pp.261-2. The missal of the future Pope Clement VII is illustrated and discussed in Reiss 1991 and Alexander 1994, pp.239-41.

⁵⁸ HA, Volume 1223, p.149; see also HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.169 (also with Cosimo misspelt). The high valuation suggests that this was the 34 x 26-inch portrait of Cosimo by “A. Bronzino”, “in violet dress richly embroidered, and white embroidered collar, holding a handkerchief in his right hand”, which was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale as lot 755 and sold to C.H. Waters for £126. This seems to be either the oil on wood portrait of Cosimo now attributed to Allori, measuring 34 x 25½ inches, which is currently with Dickinson London, or a closely related version of it.

⁵⁹ *New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol.6, Lanark*, p.274. This must be the “Coffer richly ornamented with all sorts of fruits & flowers florentine work”, valued at £1,000, which was in the Old State Drawing Room in 1825 (HA, M4/70, p.29). The same piece is listed in the 1835 inventory, in the Old State Bed Room, as “A Florentine Coffer of ebony ornamented with Flowers and Fruits of the raised Jasper and Agates in Mosaick Glass frame [£]1500” (HA, Volume 1223, p.147).

⁶⁰ For information about the façade and bibliographical references, see Boucher 1991, II, pp.358-9.

⁶¹ Waagen 1838, II, p.173. Waagen attributed the drawing to Andrea del Sarto and implies (see p.170) that it was one of the large number of drawings “from the celebrated collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence” that had been acquired by Woodburn.

⁶² HA, C4/843A/1, Woodburn to Duke, 21 October 1840.

⁶³ HA, Volume 1228, p.122.

from William Beckford's collection following his death in 1844. "The Adoration of the Magi with Portraits of Lorenzo de Medicis, and His Children Petro de Medicis and Giovanni afterwards Pope Leo the 10th [by] Sandro Bottocelli" from the Dining Room of Lansdown Crescent, and "A pair of Medici Raphael ware Bottles" from Lansdown Tower,⁶⁴ were sent from Bath and arrived at Hamilton Palace on 25 August 1846.⁶⁵ The first was the small *Adoration of the Kings* now attributed to Filippino Lippi in the National Gallery, London (which does not seem to have anything to do with the Medici),⁶⁶ while the bottles must have been the maiolica "pilgrim bottles" decorated with the arms of Ferdinand I de' Medici and his wife Christina of Lorraine that Beckford had acquired, through Hume, at the Strawberry Hill sale in 1842.⁶⁷

The Duke apparently then went on to acquire three more portraits of members of the family: Eleonora of Toledo, the wife of Cosimo I de' Medici, with one of their sons, by Bronzino and workshop, after the original in the Uffizi (now in Detroit Institute of Arts) (Fig.114);⁶⁸ "Clement VII by Sebastian del Piombo", which is now regarded as a copy after Sebastiano by Giuliano Bugiardini and was acquired by the Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, in 1996 (Figs.115-116);⁶⁹ and "Don Garzia di Medici [by] J de Pontormo".⁷⁰

In an undated note the Duke recorded that the last of these was purchased from Samuel Woodburn: "I bought of Woodburn Don Garzia di Medici _ J de

⁶⁴ Bod, MS. Beckford c.58, pp.10 and 25.

⁶⁵ HTHL, 1835 inventory, "List of Articles of Vèrte, Furniture &c _ &c sent from Bath to Hamilton Palace", p.1 (henceforward cited as list of items from Bath).

⁶⁶ See Davies 1986, pp.287-8.

⁶⁷ See Robins 1842, p.232, lot 53, and Bod, Beckford MS. c.22, ff.217-8, Hume to Beckford, 19 and 21 May 1842.

⁶⁸ For a discussion of the status of the work following cleaning, see Urry 1998. The boy is now generally identified as Giovanni.

⁶⁹ Figure 115 is taken from the Sedelmeyer Gallery, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Sixth Series of 100 Paintings by Old Masters* (Paris, 1900). The portrait was cut down after it was sold in New York in March 1938. Figure 116 shows it as it was when it went through Christie's in 1993. For a recent discussion of the work, which might be the left-hand half of a painting of Clement VII blessing Baccio Valori, see Kruse 1999, pp.449-50.

⁷⁰ Don Garcia was the seventh son of Cosimo I and Eleonora of Toledo. The portrait was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale as lot 753, and catalogued as "A. Bronzino. Don Garcia de Medici, in richly embroidered slashed dress, embroidered collar and cuffs, holding a missal in his right hand[.] 3 ft. by 2 ft. 2 in." A portrait of "Don Garcia de Medici" attributed to Bronzino, which follows this description and was said to be from the Hamilton Palace Collection, was with Agnews in 1948. It was illustrated in colour on the cover of *Apollo* for April 1948, with measurements of 45 x 34 inches.

Pontormo _".⁷¹ The "Portrait of Don Garcia de Medici [by] Bronzino" reached Hamilton Palace on 15 May 1847.⁷²

The other two paintings are listed immediately above "Don Garzia" on the Duke's note,⁷³ with lines between the entries, and the impression is given that they were separate, and earlier, acquisitions. They do not seem to be connected with Beckford's final collection and its bequest to the Duchess,⁷⁴ and are recorded on the same "List of Articles of Vèrtu & Furniture &c lately arrived at the Palace, but not from Bath", as "Don Garcia",⁷⁵ which means that they are not from, or directly from, Beckford's two properties in Bath.

Both portraits arrived at Hamilton Palace on 9 October 1846, along with two other works: "a Painting of the Herodiah _ by Cranach [and] a [Painting] of Phillip the IV of Spain _ [by] Velasquez".⁷⁶ The Cranach was probably acquired to improve the representation of the German School now that Princess Marie was a member of the family, while the Velázquez provided the Duke with a portrait of another great patron and complemented the full-length allegorical portrait of Philip II and his infant son, attributed to Titian, already in the Old State Breakfast Room.⁷⁷ Fortunately there is a receipt, dated 6 August 1846, from Woodburn for "two hundred pounds for a Picture painted by Lucas Cranach representing Herodius with the head of S^t John"⁷⁸ (which is now in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, as *Portrait of a Lady of the Saxon Court as Judith with the Head of Holofernes*⁷⁹ (Fig.117)).

The Velázquez appears to be the signed full-length portrait of *Philip IV of Spain in Brown and Silver* now in the National Gallery, London (Fig.118), which

⁷¹ HA, F2/1069/26.

⁷² HTHL, "not from Bath" list, p.2.

⁷³ "Bronzino portrait Elene of Toledo _ who married Cosimo de Medicis, & her Eldest son Clement VII by Sebastian del Piombo" (HA, F2/1069/26).

⁷⁴ Beckford's estate included a "Portrait of Cosmo Dei Medici [by] Bronzino" and a "Portrait of Bianca Capella [by] Bronzino": Bod, MS. Beckford c.58, pp.13 and 10 respectively.

⁷⁵ "a [Painting] of Eleonora of Toledo & her Son _ Bronzino a D^o of Pope Clement the VII Piombo".

HTHL, "not from Bath" list, p.1.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ See Appendix 2, number 102.

⁷⁸ HA, Bundle 660.

⁷⁹ A number of Cranach paintings of *Salome* or *Judith* have been associated with the Hamilton painting, but the *Judith* in San Francisco has the Hamilton Palace sale label on the back. For the painting itself, see Friedländer and Rosenberg 1978, p.141, no.360, and Rosenberg 1955.

was looted from the Spanish royal collection and awarded by Joseph Bonaparte to General Jean-Joseph-Paul-Augustin Dessolle in 1810.⁸⁰ Although it is not mentioned by either Passavant or Waagen in their “appreciations” of Beckford’s Bath collection, scholars have associated this important and technically extremely interesting painting with the “Portrait of Phillip of Spain [by] Velasquez” listed in the Duchess’s Drawing Room in Lansdown Crescent on the 1844 inventory of Beckford’s collection.⁸¹ However, an annotation alongside the entry records this painting was sent to “London”, and it is almost certainly the “Portrait of Philip of Spain [by] Velasquez” which was in the Duke’s house in Portman Square, along with most of Beckford’s other paintings, in February 1850,⁸² and the “Phillip 2nd of Spain [by] Velasquez” that subsequently hung on the Principal Staircase of the 11th Duke of Hamilton’s house in Arlington Street.⁸³ The identification of the 1846 arrival at Hamilton Palace as NG 1129 is supported by Stirling Maxwell’s 1848 catalogue entry on *Philip IV of Spain in Silver and Brown*, which states that it had been purchased from Dessolle’s daughter by Woodburn and was already in Hamilton Palace by 1848,⁸⁴ and by Waagen having apparently seen it in the New Dining Saloon (where the 1846 arrival is listed as having been placed⁸⁵) in 1851.⁸⁶

It is tempting to associate the two Medici portraits and “Phillip the IV of Spain [by] Velasquez” with a receipt from Woodburn, dated 12 September 1846, for “Fifteen hundred Pounds on acc^t of the purchase of three Pictures and a Hebrew Manuscript at the price of Two Thousand five hundred Pounds thus leaving a

⁸⁰ MacLaren/Braham 1988, pp.114-9.

⁸¹ Bod, MS. Beckford c.58, p.16.

⁸² HA, M12/51/1, list of “Furniture, Pictures, China &c &c at Portman Square from Bath Feby 1850”, p.5.

⁸³ HA, M4/78, inventory of Hamilton House, Arlington Street, Piccadilly, London, December 1864, p.70.

⁸⁴ Stirling Maxwell 1848, III, p.1397.

⁸⁵ HTHL, “not from Bath” list, p.1.

⁸⁶ Waagen 1854, III, p.297: “Velasquez. – Portrait of Philip IV., King of Spain. Whole-length, life-size. This looks a fine picture, but, being placed between two windows, it admits of no opinion.” The 1876 inventory appears to record the same painting in the Dining Saloon (“[Full Length Portrait of] Phillip the 4th of Spain [by] Velasquez”) and the Beckford painting in the Tribune, as “Phillip IV of Spain [by] Velasquez”: HTHL, 1876 inventory, pp.3 and 86. The descriptions of the paintings and their sequence in the inventory suggest that the work in the Tribune was one of the two half-length/bust-sized portraits hanging above the chimneypiece in Figure 113, and probably the one on the right. Although only the bottom half of this portrait is discernible, it seems to match the bust-sized Rubens of *Philip IV, King of Spain* now in the Kunsthau, Zurich: see Huemer 1977, I, pp.161-2 and fig.111. This portrait was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 22) as Philip IV of Spain by Rubens after Velázquez, and seems to have been ascribed to Velázquez during most, if not all, of its time in the Beckford and Hamilton collections.

ballance of One Thousand Pounds due on this accompt".⁸⁷ The fact that the two Medici paintings and the "Phillip the IV" arrived at the palace about twenty-seven days after the date of the receipt, and there are no other possible candidates on the 1845-48 "not from Bath" list, supports this hypothesis. It is also interesting to see that the Duke had some imprecise details and allegations about the recent provenance of all three works,⁸⁸ and that these look like the sort of snippets he would have got from Woodburn.

Rounding Off the Collections

Beckford's bequest of his collection to the Duchess led to a massive influx of paintings and other items into the Hamilton collection and reduced the need for further large and expensive additions.

In September 1847 Woodburn offered the Duke the opportunity to buy £12,000-worth of paintings, from a selection of seventeen works, for a down payment of £2,000 (which would be paid before Woodburn set off to Italy to try to secure "two fine Pictures") and ten instalments of £1,000, at six-monthly intervals, over five years.⁸⁹ It was an alluring offer, but the Duke did not rise to the bait.

The simple truth is that he did not have this sort of money. Had he taken on such a commitment, the Duke would have found it well nigh impossible to have done much more collecting during the last five years of his life. He would have been unable to have bought more large-scale "Classical" sculpture at the sale of the bankrupt Duke of Buckingham's collection at Stowe in 1848, or to have "rounded off" the Hamilton Palace collection of paintings to his own satisfaction, once the Duchess and he had resolved what to do with Beckford's paintings.

⁸⁷ HA, Bundle 660.

⁸⁸ On an undated memo (HA, Bundle 1001), the Duke recorded:

"Clementi VII (Sebastiano del Piombo) bought at R Florence came from Rome Bronzino Helena of Toledo with her son afterwards Clemento VII belonged to Count Bardi near Bardi near Florence on the road towards Arezzo".

He was, of course, wrong about Eleonora's son becoming Clement VII.

On this memo the Duke states that the Velázquez "came from the royal Palace at Madrid" and was one of four paintings taken by General Dessolle. On F2/1069/26 he noted that it was one of three paintings selected by Dessolle. The notes allege that General Sebastiani, General Dessolle and Marshal Soult or Joseph Bonaparte each chose three or four paintings, and the Duke lists most of them.

⁸⁹ HA, Bundle 1001, Woodburn to Duke, 9 September 1847.

At the Stowe sale on 21 August 1848 Hume bought the full-size bronze copy of the *Laocoon*, which had been cast in Paris by Charles Crozatier for George Watson Taylor and in Beckford's collection at Fonthill, for £567.⁹⁰ Six weeks later, on 3 October, he succeeded in buying three of the eight Classical marble statues in the Saloon at Stowe – “Apollo, with the attributes of the God of Medicine”, “A Roman Consul in the act of speaking”, and “Paris holding out the Apple of Discord” (Figs.119-121) – for a total of £266 14s.⁹¹

These purchases were a logical extension of the Duke's collecting over at least the last thirty years. However, it emerges that around this time the Duke was also trying to improve his collection of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings, albeit for a very limited outlay.

In October 1846 Beckford's “Interior of a Church [by] De Lorme” was transported up from Bath to Hamilton Palace, and in May 1847 four more Dutch/Flemish paintings from his collection – “the Smokers [by] Teniers”, “Landscape with white Horse [by] Ostade”, the “Great Church at Haarlem [by] Berkheyden” and “Landscape & River Scene [by] Vangoyen” – were brought up and placed in the Old State Rooms.⁹² During the first few months of 1848, the Duke acquired a “Calm” by Willem van de Velde (now at Ardgowan) (Fig.122) from Hume.⁹³ Beckford's “Dutch Interior [by] Ostade” arrived in May 1848, and was

⁹⁰ Forster 1848, p.46, lot 733.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.265, lots 30, 31 and 34. *Apollo* sold for 44 guineas, the “Roman Consul” for 160 guineas, and *Paris* for 50 guineas. Hume charged £28 7s commission on the *Laocoon* and £13 6s 9d for the three statues, plus £23 10s for making, packing and moving five crates: see HA, Bundle 1000, bill dated 11 November 1848.

The three Roman statues were included in Christie, Manson and Woods' sale of old English furniture and objects of art from the Hamilton Collection on 5 November 1919, as lots 43, 45 and 46. *Apollo* was in the Parke-Bernet sale of *Art Treasures from the William Randolph Hearst Collection*, 7 December 1951, lot 19. The “Consul” or “Senator”, which was with Spink and Sons as “Hadrian” around 1929, does, indeed, have the head of the Emperor, but its status is unclear from the old photograph. *Paris*, which is stated in the Stowe catalogue to have been discovered by Gavin Hamilton in 1771, and appears to be one of his fabrications, was sold at an Anderson Galleries auction in New York on 29 January 1921, lot 798, and was last reported (letter and note from Professor Cornelius Vermeule, February/March 2003) in a private collection in England, minus the apple.

⁹² HTHL, list of items from Bath, pp.1-2. The paintings by Jan van Goyen and Isaac van Ostade are mentioned by Waagen (Waagen 1854, III, p.300) and were included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale as lots 36 and 34. They sold for high prices: £388 10s and £556 10s.

⁹³ The panel, which bears the name of the French dealer Alexis Delahante on the back, seems to have been one of three Dutch paintings, allegedly from the duc de Berri's collection, offered by Hume around the beginning of 1848 (see HA, Bundle 1000, sheet with the shapes and measurements of three “D^e Berri Pictures”, dated 4 January 1848, and Hume to Duke, 18 April 1848). Hume's letter records that he was willing to accept “the two Pictures of Animated Nature” and £250 cash for the “Calm”. The “Calm” was sent up to Hamilton by train on 21 April and Hume acknowledged receipt of “the

followed, in July, by “Le Charlatan or Dutch fair [by] Ferg” and Beckford’s copy of Elsheimer’s small version of *Tobias and the Angel*.⁹⁴

Then, late in 1848 or early in 1849, the Duke appears to have bought a painting of “A wooded bank of a river, with fallen timber, and a sandbank in the foreground, and a beautiful sky – upright”, attributed to Jacob van Ruisdael.⁹⁵ Hume had purchased the painting independently at the Stowe sale for £169 1s and offered it to the Duke, with a range of other items, on 23 November.⁹⁶ In the souvenir catalogue of the Stowe sale the journalist and writer on the aristocracy Henry Rumsey Forster commented “We believe this picture is now added to the Duke of Hamilton’s collection”, and the 1882 Hamilton Palace catalogue states that the Ruisdael “Woody Scene, with a river falling in a cascade among rocks, some broken trees on the right [...]”, came “From Stowe”.⁹⁷

Unfortunately it is not easy to identify or locate the Stowe painting. It is unlikely to be the “pretty landscape” which Waagen noted in the New Sitting Room in 1851 and attributed to “Solomon Ruysdael”,⁹⁸ as a “Landscape [by] John Rysdale” valued at £50 is listed in this room in 1835.⁹⁹ It may have been one of the unattributed “Landscapes” in the Old State Rooms in 1853 and subsequently the “Landscape [by] J. Ruysdael” in the Old State Dressing Room in 1876,¹⁰⁰ but more investigation is needed because Beckford owned a very similar “Upright Landscape”¹⁰¹ and only one such Ruisdael was included in the 1882 and 1919 sales.

balance for the Calm „£250., W.V.Velde” a few days later (*ibid.*, Hume to Duke, 21 April and 25 April 1848). It was displayed in the Breakfast Room (HA, Volume 1228, p.140, “Sea View and Shipping [by] Vanderveldi”).

⁹⁴ HTHL, list of items from Bath, pp.2-3. The Ostade was probably the “Interior of a Carpenters Shop [by] A. Ostade” on the 1844 Beckford inventory (Bod, MS. Beckford c.58, p.11), which is annotated as having been sent up to Hamilton Palace. The July arrivals were hung in the First State Dressing Room (HA, Volume 1228, pp.148-9, “The Charlatan” and “Tobias and the Fish”).

⁹⁵ See Forster 1848, p.193, lot 425.

⁹⁶ HA, Bundle 1000, Hume to Duke, 23 November 1848.

⁹⁷ 1882 HPSC, lot 78. Seymour Slive published what he believed to be the Stowe/Hamilton painting in Slive 2001, p.236, no.279.

⁹⁸ Waagen 1854, III, p.304 (“Solomon Ruysdael. – A very pretty landscape for him”). The 1853 inventory simply records this as “Landscape”, with the addition “J. Ruysdael”: HA, Volume 1228, p.106.

⁹⁹ HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.155.

¹⁰⁰ HTHL, 1876 inventory, p.105.

¹⁰¹ The painting Beckford bequeathed to his daughter is described as an “Upright Landscape Woody Scenery with a rapid stream running amongst, fallen Timber in the foreground [by] J. Ruysdael” (Bod, MS. Beckford c.58, p.21). It is recorded, as “Upright Landscape [by] J. Ruysdael”, at Portman Square in February 1850 (HA, M12/51/1, p.7) and, as “Upright Landscape – Woody Scenery with a rapid

It is to be hoped that the uncertainty over the Stowe painting can be resolved, but we can see that there is clear evidence that the Duke was wanting to build up a better selection of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings at Hamilton Palace in 1846-48.

It has to be said that the Beckford bequest was both a glorious doubling of the Hamilton collection and a problem as far as the Duke was concerned. It distracted him from his own collecting, because he had to help the Duchess sort out her father's collections. He had to be physically present in Bath and assist his wife, who was suffering from very poor eyesight.¹⁰² More importantly, he had to come to an agreement about where to put the thousands of Beckford items that were not sold in Bath in 1845 and 1848.

In the end the couple made two fundamental decisions. First, to move Beckford's manuscripts and books up to Hamilton Palace and build a "Beckford Library" for them. Secondly, to keep the majority of Beckford's paintings and *objets d'art* together and in the south, either in the London townhouse(s) or at Easton Park in Suffolk (which the Duke had inherited from the 5th Earl of Rochford in 1830).

The Duchess naturally wanted to keep her father's collections as separate entities, but there is every reason to think that the Duke was in almost complete agreement about this. While supplementation of his own collection from Beckford's *embarras de richesses* was very useful, the last thing the Duke would have wanted was the large-scale dilution and confusion of his own achievements at Hamilton Palace, through the addition of all of his father-in-law's collections.

In the last years of his life, the Duke returned to his own special interest in Italian *quattrocento* and *cinquecento* paintings.

stream running amongst fallen Timber in the foreground [by] J. Ruysdael", in the Yellow Drawing Room of Hamilton House, Arlington Street, in 1864 (HA, M4/78, p.137).

¹⁰² HA, Bundle 6308, Duke to Brown, 10 September [1845]: "the state of the Duchess's eyes quite breaks my heart _ When we are settling any matters together; every now & then, when she has any thing to examine, she is unable to see what is placed before her eyes". The couple's poor eyesight helps explain why such items as the Greek vases and Gentile Bellini's *Doge Giovanni Mocenigo* (Frick Collection, New York) were included in the 1845 sale and the illuminated miniature of *Louis XII with Saints* by Jean Bourdichon (Getty Museum), from the *Hours of Louis XII*, and *Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery* by Mazzolino (National Gallery, London) in the July 1848 sale. The sales seem to reflect two elderly people making sweeping decisions to avoid being overwhelmed by the sheer scale of the bequest.

Although many of Beckford's Italian paintings had been dispersed by 1844,¹⁰³ the Beckford bequest still included the two exquisite panels of the *Annunciation to the Virgin* by Fra Angelico (Detroit Institute of Arts),¹⁰⁴ *Madonna and Child* by a follower of Giovanni Bellini (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York),¹⁰⁵ *St Jerome in the Desert* by Cima (National Gallery, London)¹⁰⁶ and the *Portrait of Vincenzo Cappello* by Titian (National Gallery of Art, Washington).¹⁰⁷ Ownership of these and other works did away with the need to make similar purchases.¹⁰⁸

Six days after his father-in-law's death on 2 May 1844, the Duke tried to retrieve the portrait of *Doge Leonardo Loredan* by Giovanni Bellini, which Beckford had sold to the National Gallery in London in April 1844. Needless to say, he failed, as the purchase had been agreed by the Trustees, Beckford and the Treasury; the desired sum of £630 set aside by the Treasury ready for payment to Beckford's agents; and the painting installed in the Gallery as part of the National Collection.¹⁰⁹

It was certainly worth the effort, but there was a very good representation of Venetian paintings in the enlarged Hamilton collection. The real deficiency lay in works by the leading Florentine and Roman artists. The Duke therefore moved on and decided to replace the large *Stag Hunt* ascribed to Snyders in the Tribune with a huge altarpiece of the *Assumption of the Virgin* attributed to Botticelli, and to acquire works by Marcello Venusti after designs by Michelangelo. The *Stag Hunt* seems to have been a heavily restored, if not poor, painting¹¹⁰ and was evidently deemed inappropriate, both in terms of quality and subject-matter, for this key room, whilst

¹⁰³ The "losses" included the *Agony in the Garden* by Giovanni Bellini (now in the National Gallery, London), which was in the 1823 Fonthill sale, and four paintings Beckford sold to the National Gallery in London to help finance the completion of Lansdown Tower. The latter comprised *St Catherine of Alexandria* by Raphael, the *Holy Family with Saints* by Garofalo and the *Holy Family with St Nicholas of Tolentino* by Mazzolino (all sold in 1839) and the *Virgin and Child with St John* by Perugino (sold in 1841).

¹⁰⁴ Kantner and Palladino 2005, pp.128-9.

¹⁰⁵ Humfrey *et al* 2004, pp.66-7.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.74-5.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.124-5.

¹⁰⁸ The panels by Fra Angelico were brought up to Hamilton Palace in August 1846 and the "Spanish Admiral by Tintoretto" (Titian's *Vincenzo Cappello*) in September 1848: see HTHL, list of items from Bath, pp.1 and 4. The other two paintings were sent to Portman Square.

¹⁰⁹ Bod, MS. Beckford c.39, ff.123-4, George Saunders Thwaites to Duke, 14 May 1844.

¹¹⁰ In a letter written to the Duke on 23 July 1850, Hume remarked: "The Snyders is a fine and good Composition but the sky is very much repainted and I think your Grace was right in parting with it on that account" (HA, C4/843A/20).

its replacement could be read as an early indicator of the celestial quality of the Hamilton collection and even divine acknowledgement of the Duke's activities and status.

At the time these acquisitions seemed to fill the obvious gaps in the Hamilton Palace Collection for major works by Botticelli and Michelangelo and meant that almost all the "big name" artists of the Italian, Dutch and Flemish Schools between 1450 and 1700 appeared to be represented in the collection. They also demonstrated that the Duke had bettered Beckford, who only owned the small *Adoration of the Magis* then attributed to Botticelli (and now to Filippino Lippi) and Venusti (now associated with Girolamo da Carpi) at the time of his death.¹¹¹

The altarpiece of the *Assumption of the Virgin* and the Venustis were supplied by Samuel Woodburn, who offered the Duke a range of expensive packages in 1847-48,¹¹² and even tried to get him to buy the "whole Collection" he was endeavouring to sell to the National Gallery or the 4th Earl of Ashburnham, for £12,000 in May 1849.¹¹³

Woodburn had offered the Duke the Michelangelo/Venusti-related *Christ driving the Money Changers from the Temple* and the *Holy Family* (both now in the National Gallery, London¹¹⁴) (Figs.123-124), along with the *Annunciation* by Venusti, as early as 1832. The Duke was then committing his resources to completing the decoration and fitting out of the interiors of the palace and was probably unable to respond to Woodburn's clever letter comparing the paintings with Michelangelo drawings of the same subjects in Sir Thomas Lawrence's celebrated collection, and emphasising their Borghese Palace provenance and documented links with the family and particular rooms.¹¹⁵

Woodburn tried to sell the *Money Changers* and the *Holy Family* again in early September 1847, for £1,200 and £800 respectively.¹¹⁶ In late November he offered the "Botticelli" *Assumption of the Virgin* for £1,050,¹¹⁷ after Lord

¹¹¹ Bod, MS. Beckford c.58, pp.10 and 11, and Ostergard 2001, p.393.

¹¹² See HA, Bundle 1001, Woodburn to Duke, 13 and 29 December 1847 and 18 January 1848.

¹¹³ HA, C4/843A/13, Woodburn to Duke, 10 May 1849.

¹¹⁴ Gould 1987, pp.154-5.

¹¹⁵ HA, Bundle 1001, Woodburn to Duke, 5 November 1832.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Woodburn to Duke, 9 September 1847.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Woodburn to Duke, 29 November 1847.

Ashburnham had expressed an interest in acquiring part of Woodburn's collection, but had decided that the *Assumption* was too large for him to accommodate.

The altarpiece – which is now attributed to Botticini and displayed at the top of the staircase in the Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery, London¹¹⁸ (Fig.125) – must have interested the Duke from the start. It was discussed by Vasari and attributed by him to Botticelli, and there was general agreement in the mid nineteenth century that it was a major work by Botticelli.¹¹⁹

The Duke was short of money in November 1847. He apparently told Woodburn he could not make a decision, but must have suggested giving Woodburn his *Stag Hunt* in part exchange.¹²⁰ There the matter rested, and the altarpiece was soon potentially part of the "Collection" Woodburn hoped to sell to the National Gallery.¹²¹ Nothing came of this proposed block purchase, but a large sale to Lord Ashburnham once more became a possibility, and in late April-early May 1849 Woodburn asked the Duke if he still wanted to buy the "Botticelli".¹²² The Duke must have given some sort of affirmative response, and Woodburn offered to sell Lord Ashburnham a package of paintings excluding the *Assumption*.¹²³ He was "quite prepared to agree to your Graces former offer of my having the Snyders and the sum your Grace mentioned for the M. Angelo and the larger Botticelli". Although the sale to Lord Ashburnham fell through, the sale to the Duke eventually went ahead on the basis of the exchange of the "Snyders" and a number of part payments.

The Duke paid £1,640 for the altarpiece and the *Money Changers* and seems to have received an additional trade-in allowance of at least £400 (the 1835 inventory valuation¹²⁴) for the *Stag Hunt*.¹²⁵ Woodburn's negotiating position in February 1848 had been that he wanted £630 and "the Snyders" for the *Money Changers* and £1,050 for the *Assumption*.¹²⁶ On 9 November 1849 Woodburn acknowledged receipt of £640 for "a Picture by Sandro Botticelli and a small picture by M. Venusti on the

¹¹⁸ Davies 1986, pp.122-7.

¹¹⁹ As the Duke knew, the altarpiece was commissioned by the Florentine humanist and apothecary Matteo Palmieri (1406-75) and came from the Palmieri family chapel in the destroyed church of S. Pier Maggiore in Florence.

¹²⁰ HA, Bundle 1001, Woodburn to Duke, 27 January 1848.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, Woodburn to Duke, 7 and 11 February 1848.

¹²² *Ibid.*, Woodburn to Duke, 28 April and 3 May 1849.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, Woodburn to Duke, 8 May 1849.

¹²⁴ HA, Volume 1223, p.49, and HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.65.

¹²⁵ HA, Bundle 1001, Woodburn to Duke, 27 January 1848.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, Woodburn to Duke, 7 February 1848.

outline of M Angelo, leaving the sum of One Thousand Pounds due on the said purchase".¹²⁷ He sent two more receipts, each for £500, for the works on 17 April and 25 September 1850.¹²⁸

The Duke displayed the *Assumption* in the Tribune with a painting of "The Angel Michael driving Satan into his dominions [by] Ventura Salina",¹²⁹ which had been in the New State "Drawing Room" – apparently in some sort of safe storage – in 1835.¹³⁰ This was the painting of "Michael subduing Satan", measuring 7 feet 6 inches by 5 feet 6 inches, catalogued in 1882¹³¹ as by 'C. van Haarlem', with the correction "V. Salembini, signed, and dated 1603" in the Errata and Addenda to the post-sale catalogue,¹³² and was therefore the canvas by the Sienese painter Ventura Salimbeni, signed and dated 1603, measuring 90½ x 66¼ inches, which was offered at Sotheby's New York in January 2003 (Fig.126).¹³³

Furnishing the Interiors and Displaying the Collections

While all these paintings and other items were being acquired, the Duke was also spending large sums on carpets, curtains and other textiles. During the late 1830s-early 1840s, he placed a series of commissions with the foremost factory of Jean-Charles Sallandrouze de Lamornaix (1808-67) at Aubusson, which supplied the French royal palaces, for upholstery for twenty-four armchairs and six chairs for the Long Gallery; a number of carpets, including four "Louis XIV" carpets with the arms of France in the centre and crossed letter "L"s for "Louis" in the corners; and ten overdoor tapestries of flowers for the New State Tapestry Rooms.¹³⁴ The substantial correspondence reveals that the Duke gave precise instructions, provided a sample of the crimson colour he wanted used,¹³⁵ reviewed and revised drawings supplied by the

¹²⁷ HA, F2/1069/42.

¹²⁸ HA, C4/843A/13/1 and F2/1069/41.

¹²⁹ HA, Volume 1228, p.97.

¹³⁰ HA, Volume 1223, p.164, as by "Ventura Solini".

¹³¹ Lot 1017.

¹³² *The Hamilton Palace Collection. Illustrated Priced Catalogue*, p.242.

¹³³ This rather facile painting was included, by the Bob Jones University Museum and Gallery, in Sotheby's sale of *Important Old Master Paintings*, New York, 23 January 2003, lot 23, without any reference to its Hamilton Palace provenance, and was bought in. The Duke displayed the large painting of *David with the Head of Goliath* (Fig.19) with the two illustrations of divine power and authority and the Thorvaldsen bust of *Napoleon*, and this must have made the Tribune an even more unsettling experience.

¹³⁴ Most of the letters for 1839-42 are in HA, C4/841.

¹³⁵ See HA, C4/841/1 and 13, Feuillet Dumus to Duke, 8 December 1840 and 7 July [1841].

factory, responded to queries, and sent additional information and sketches of suite and room layouts himself.¹³⁶ He requested crimson grounds on the upholstery and the first three overdoor tapestries, asked that the proposed background colour on the armorial carpets be changed from yellow-brown to crimson, and reacted to the delivery of the first three tapestries by ordering that the remaining seven should have mixed white, green and yellow backgrounds. The upholstery was to be woven with the ducal coronet above the Garter containing the initials “CHB”, and with small Hamilton heraldic motifs of mullets or stars, lilies, and “fleurs” or “Feuilles” “à cinq branches”. The armorial carpets also followed the Duke’s “instructions” and were apparently based on a drawing specially commissioned, by Aubusson, from the eminent applied art designer Jean-Baptiste-Amédée Couder (1797-1864).¹³⁷

The full cost of the Aubusson orders has still to be established, but £988 15s was spent on the upholstery (£158), three carpets for the “Boudoir”, “petit Salon” and Duchess’s Bed Room (£732 15s) and seven of the tapestries (£98).¹³⁸

These are only the tip of the proverbial iceberg and the total cost of all the orders to French and British manufacturers and suppliers between 1832 and 1852 must have exceeded £5,000. In August 1847 and January 1848 there were deliveries of a “Brussels Carpet”, two large hearth rugs and “Splendid New Crimson Cloth Curtains trimmed with rich laces & fringes” for the Long Gallery.¹³⁹ By this stage, though, not everything could be expensive and brand new: the carpet for the Music Room was “cut from one had of Lord Bellhaven”; the crimson damask curtains for the Music Room and the Duchess’s Ante Room were “from Stock”; and the crimson cloth curtains to all the doors in the Tribune were “made out of old Gallery Curtains”.¹⁴⁰

That said, by the time of his death the Duke had developed an extremely strong flow of colours and heraldry through the palace. The key colours were black and crimson. The “visitor experience” began with the black marble staircase and

¹³⁶ For the last, see C4/841/20 and 25.

¹³⁷ See HA, C4/841/1, 10 and 19. All four armorial carpets were included in Christie, Manson and Woods’ Hamilton Palace sale on 13 November 1919, as lots 299, 303, 310 and 317. One of the carpets is now in the British Embassy in Paris.

¹³⁸ See HA, Bundle 2092, bill from the Aubusson factory, dated 16 May 1842, and C4/841/5, 6, 11 and 12.

¹³⁹ See HTHL, “not from Bath” list, p.2.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.2-3.

marble floor and was quickly followed by the two colossal black marble chimneypieces, door surrounds and plinths for the sculptures in the Great Entrance Hall, along with another marble floor, and by the two colossal black marble chimneypieces and door surround in the Gallery.

At the same time, a “Crimson bordered Brussels Carpet” on the black marble stairs and landings and a “crimson ground” carpet on the Duchess’s Stairs provided a foretaste of the sumptuous crimson textiles that lay beyond the Great Entrance Hall.¹⁴¹ The Gallery was ablaze with crimson, with crimson curtains and soft furnishings and a “crimson Brussels Carpet of the Ducal crest pattern”, which echoed the ceiling. All five rooms on the first floor of the west wing were hung with crimson curtains. Four had crimson carpets, and at least three were woven with the “Ducal Crest Pattern” or “‘Hamilton Crest’ Pattern”. Similarly, the first-floor Library and New Sitting Room behind the façade of the north block had crimson curtains and crimson “Cinque feuille pattern” Brussels carpets. Crimson curtains and carpets also furnished the Music Room and Old Dining Room, and – as curtains and druggets – some of the lobbies and landings.

Many other rooms had crimson curtains. Variety and even richer effects were achieved by combining crimson (or scarlet) curtains with Turkey carpets (which would have included red) in the Tribune, Old State Breakfast Room, Duke’s Sitting Room,¹⁴² Duke’s Bed Room, two Cove Rooms and two Red Rooms,¹⁴³ and by laying an Axminster carpet with a crimson ground in the New Dining Saloon.¹⁴⁴ Elsewhere, crimson was employed with other colours: the Marquis of Douglas’s suite of four rooms had “crimson and gold silk Brocade Curtains”, upholstery and bed furnishings (and Turkey carpets), while the Duke of Newcastle’s Bed Room and Mademoiselle d’Este’s Room had crimson and white curtains and bed furnishings (and crimson carpets). The coordination often extended to other fabrics and leather and sometimes to other items – as for example the red leather armchair and crimson glass match vase in the Duke of Newcastle’s Dressing Room – and red marble table-tops and red

¹⁴¹ The following paragraphs are based on the 1853 inventory, HA, Volume 1228.

¹⁴² The curtains in the Duke’s two rooms are described as scarlet in the inventory.

¹⁴³ These last four bed and dressing rooms, on the second floor, above the Gallery, had “Turkey Pattern Brussels Carpet[s]”.

¹⁴⁴ The 1853 inventory does not record the colour of the carpet in the New Dining Saloon, but it is described as “A Rich Crimson Axminster Carpet” in 1876 (HTHL, 1876 inventory, p.1).

porphyry slabs, busts, sculptures, vases and other pieces made everything even more magnificent and regal or imperial.

The principal exceptions to this crimson “wash through” were the Duchess’s Rooms in the east wing, which had blue curtains and carpets, and the New Tapestry Apartments. Here the 1853 inventory focuses on the yellow-gold of the Sienna marble chimneypieces, gilt surrounds to the grates and gilt fenders in the first three rooms, linings of gold-colour silk to the brocade curtains, “rich gold colour silk Bell Pulls and Tassells”, gilt woodwork, and “gold Brocade” in the Boudoir. However, the inventory subsequently states that that the “entire Walls” of the Boudoir were “covered with rich Oriental wrought in gold Crimson silk Brocade same as Chairs and Sofa”. Moreover, we know that the armorial carpets had crimson backgrounds, and entries in the 1876 inventory and 1882 sale catalogue reveal that some of the brocade curtains and upholstery had “crimson” grounds.¹⁴⁵ The 1853 inventory records red or red and white marble tops on the clock cabinet now in the Gilbert Collection and Riesener commode now at Versailles, a firescreen with crimson silk panels, a crimson bedside hassock, and red leather tops on the two writing tables. It suggests that crimson/red was “underplayed”, but the fuller entries in the 1876 inventory indicate that the rooms would have been much more crimson than this in the early 1850s.

Consequently, there were two main colourways (crimson and black), a different but complementary, crimson-gold colourway (in the New Tapestry Rooms), and a separate, almost independent blue section (in the Duchess’s Apartments).

The Duke’s use of colour as a uniter and unifier is paralleled in his displays.

He “ran” his “Classical” collection up the black marble staircase (the busts of the Roman Emperors) and the Duchess’s Staircase and Basement (with the statue of Venus acquired by the 8th Duke and three plaster copies of statues of “Minerva, Aeschinus and the Venus of Cos”) through the Great Entrance Hall (with the bust of *Jupiter Olympien* and five bronze statues after the Antique) and the Tribune (with a reduced copy of the Warwick Vase and a bronze of a centaur teaching the infant Bacchus to ride) and into the New Dining Saloon (with Crozatier’s copy of the *Laocoon* displayed on the Farnese Table, marble bust of the *Cnidian Aphrodite*,

¹⁴⁵ See 1882 HPSC, lots 1907 and 1926-1928.

porphyry head of “Alexander” and two “antique” *giallo antico* tripods). On the ground floor, this rolling or sequential display was connected, augmented and almost physically supported by “3 Plaster Figures from the antique” in the Marble Corridor; “Colossal” plaster statues of “Achilles” and the “Venus of Melos” and “Colossal” plaster busts of “Juno” and “Romulus” in the Lower Entrance Hall; “Colossal” plaster bust of “Minerva” and “Colossal Bust of horned Bacchus” by Soyer (which had arrived in June 1847¹⁴⁶) outside the Duke’s Apartments; and an “antique Marble Bust of young Caracalla” in the Duke’s Sitting Room and plaster busts of “Psyché”, “Aesculapus” [sic] and “Isis” in his bedroom.

The Duke complemented the busts of the three Roman emperors with the bronze busts of Peter the Great and Catherine the Great¹⁴⁷ (and the colossal bronze bust of himself by Campbell) in the Lower Entrance Hall, and with Thorvaldsen’s *Napoleon* in the Tribune. The impact of all this Classical-Imperial material was increased when the 45-inch-high Classical-style silver “testimonial”, which weighed 1,191 ounces and had been presented by the Duke’s Scottish tenants in 1849, was placed on the dining room table. This candelabrum-centrepiece (Fig.127) was developed from a design of the Duke’s own choosing (Fig.128)¹⁴⁸ and the statuette of Minerva was a careful copy of his cast of the *Giustiniani Minerva*.¹⁴⁹

Most of the other main items in the collection were deployed within the framework of the Gallery, dedicated to full-length family paintings and Rubens’s *Daniel in the Lions’ Den*; the picture gallery-treasury in the five rooms of the west wing; and the larger public rooms in the new north block. All the latter were “show” rooms, but the rooms in the New State or Tapestry Rooms were laid out after the Baroque model with an enfilade of Sitting Room, Bed Room, Dressing Room and Boudoir, and were essentially exhibition spaces for important eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century furniture. They were usable, but were the forerunners of the

¹⁴⁶ HTHL, “not from Bath” list, p.2.

¹⁴⁷ Previously in the Old Dining Room.

¹⁴⁸ See Hume’s letters to the Duke for 1848-49 in HA, Bundle 1000, and HTHL, HELB 1848-50, pp.8-10, Leighton to Hume, 3 July 1848. The latter, along with the next letter, is in Appendix 9.

¹⁴⁹ See HTHL, HELB 1848-50, pp.48-9, Leighton to James Muirhead, 25 August 1848.

An unexpected discovery has been that the marble statues from Stowe, which arrived at Hamilton Palace on or around 4 November 1848, are not recorded in the 1853 inventory. Hume hoped that they might “Suit the Staircase”, but they were apparently damaged during transportation (see HA, Bundle 1000, Hume to Duke, 15 October and 11 November 1848). They must therefore either have been in storage or in the grounds, “preparing” visitors for the sequence of “Classical” sculpture inside the palace.

“period room” displays in later European and American collectors’ houses and major museums.

Many of the rooms were densely hung with paintings, with over 118 paintings in the west wing and twenty-two in the New Sitting Room, and eight Ottoboni tapestries were displayed on the main walls in the first three rooms of the New State Rooms. They provided excellent “backdrops”, but what distinguished the Hamilton Palace Collection was the quality and importance of the furniture and the way that it was arranged.

The displays began with single major items – a *pietre dure* table with a gilt bronze base by Dénier in the Tribune (Fig.113) and the (*pietre dure*) Farnese Table in the New Dining Saloon (Fig.61) – and then expanded into groups of three, four, five and even more important items in each room.¹⁵⁰ The Library, for example, contained the *bureau plat* and *cartonnier* owned by the duc de Choiseul (Fig.70) and the two ebony and *pietre dure* cabinets by Hume from the 1832 Watson Taylor sale (Fig.86), while the New Sitting Room served as the setting for a *pietre dure* cabinet allegedly designed by Michelangelo (now at Elton Hall) (Fig.129), an eighteenth-century copy of the commodes supplied by André-Charles Boulle for Louis XIV’s bedchamber in the Grand Trianon at Versailles in 1708 (now at Petworth House) (Fig.130), the ebony “Versailles Cabinet” decorated with a porcelain plaque, and a table and cabinet (Fig.131) made of ebony and *pietre dure*.

The quality increased as one moved through the palace. The *armoires* by Boulle now in the Louvre (Fig.62) were in the Long Gallery, along with eight pier tables with black marble tops supported on gilt wood eagles “resting” on “crimson cushion shaped” blocks and black plinths. They “continued” the black theme through the explosion of crimson, but then the Duke laid out most of his best pieces in the Old State Rooms and the New State Rooms, like two great final orchestral movements, with the black wood, lacquer and marble making powerful statement after powerful statement and acting as a foil to the *pietre dure*, coloured stone tops and smaller “treasures”.

¹⁵⁰ The entries on all the main pieces of furniture in the 1853 inventory will be found at the end of Appendix 9, along with entries from the 1876 inventory and 1882 sale catalogue, and their present whereabouts, last known ownership or sale reference.

The sequence in the Old State Rooms began, in the Breakfast Room, with one of the porphyry tables with bases by Dénier (Fig.39) and the two ebony-*pietre dure* cabinets now in the Getty Museum (Figs.132-133).¹⁵¹ The second porphyry table was in the Drawing Room, with the “Artois Commode” by Levasseur (Fig.72) and the black lacquer commode made by Riesener for Marie-Antoinette now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig.84). It might be thought that they were shown too early, but they were followed by the dazzling fall-front secretaire and commode decorated with Japanese black lacquer and ormolu figures attributed to Weisweiler (Figs.66-67) and the “Mazarin Chest” (Fig.65). The west wing sequence ended, in the First and Second Dressing Rooms, with the two cabinets-on-stands by the Vulliamy firm (Fig.68), two pieces of “Buhl” – a writing table and pedestal cabinet (Fig.134) – and four ebony armchairs (erroneously) associated with Cardinal Wolsey.¹⁵²

The sequence in the New State or Tapestry Rooms was even more interesting. It began with some of the Duke’s most important and impressive pieces. These included the clock cabinet supplied by Hume (Fig.44), the fall-front secretaire made by Riesener for Louis XVI’s private study in the Petit Trianon in 1777 (Waddesdon Manor) (Fig.90),¹⁵³ the commode by Riesener delivered for Louis XVI’s *cabinet de retraite* at Fontainebleau in 1778, which was later in the King’s library at Versailles (Versailles) (Fig.135),¹⁵⁴ and the huge *canapé à confidents* by Blanchard and Rascalon (Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon) (Fig.136).¹⁵⁵

There was only one black piece – a “Buhl” writing table – in the first room, but the black theme was taken up again in the next room. Here the Louis XVI *lit à la duchesse* now in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig.80), with its gilt wood and gold-colour fabrics, “sang out” even more vibrantly against the two pedestal-cabinets

¹⁵¹ Wilson and Hess 2001, pp.11-2.

¹⁵² Two of these armchairs, which were actually made on the Coromandel Coast, in India, around 1680-1700, are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the National Museums Scotland.

¹⁵³ HA, Volume 1228, p.109, and de Bellaigue 1974, I, pp.348-57.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.109; Christie’s, *Works of Art from the Collection of the Barons Nathaniel and Albert von Rothschild*, London, 8 July 1999, lot 201; and Meyer 2002, pp.136-41. To avoid confusion, it should be noted that the Riesener commode decorated with a vase of flowers, which was made for the comtesse de Provence’s bedchamber at Versailles in 1776 and is now at Waddesdon Manor, was in the Music Room.

¹⁵⁵ This was believed to have come “from Versailles” (HA, Volume 1228, p.108), but was actually made for the Salon d’Été of Louis XVI’s aunts in the Château de Bellevue and was later in Napoleon’s apartments in the Tuileries: see Coutinho 1999, pp.278-81.

attributable to André-Charles Boulle from Bonnemaïson's estate (Fig.71) and two "Buhl" commodes, now in Philadelphia Museum of Art, that must be the "Deux commodes en marqueterie d'ancien boule" from the 1831 Marchetti sale. The black theme became even louder and more dominant in the Dressing Room, which housed the enormous ebony *bureau plat* and *cartonnier* made for Ange-Laurent de Lalive de Jully in the mid 1750s (Musée Condé, Chantilly) (Fig.137)¹⁵⁶ and the black lacquer *secretaire* by Riesener now in the Getty Museum (Fig.85). The sequence came to a crescendo in the Boudoir with the black lacquer *secretaire* made by Riesener for Marie Antoinette, now in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig.83), which – like its matching commode – was fitted with a black marble top during its time in the Hamilton Collection.

The Duke also spread out his material relating to Napoleon, Peter the Great and Catherine the Great, and the Medici with care.

He spurned Beckford and Watson Taylor's creation of separate Napoleon rooms, but did form two "clusters" of Napoleonic items in the Tribune and New Dining Saloon (the Thorvaldsen bust, David portrait, and 1810 service, when in use) and in his private rooms, where the two busts of Princess Pauline were displayed along with a picture of "The emperor Napoleon on Horseback as at Battle of Wagram", two engravings of Napoleon, and 'a fine bronze Profile of Napoleon in gilt metal frame'. Other Napoleonic items were sprinkled through the palace. The two Sèvres vases bequeathed by Princess Pauline to the Duchess were apparently in the New Sitting Room and "a small Bronze Bust of Emperor Napoleon" in the New State Bed Room. In addition, the Marquis of Douglas had the small table from St Helena now at Lennoxlove in his Upper Sitting Room and a "bronze likeness of Napoleon in Metal frame" in his main bedroom.¹⁵⁷

The material relating to the two outstanding modern rulers of Russia and the Medici was more widely distributed and very carefully positioned. The bronze busts of Peter the Great and Catherine the Great were set up at the start, in the Lower Entrance Hall, but the portraits were held back until the end. The two paintings of Catherine were shown in the Old State Breakfast Room and Lady Dunmore's

¹⁵⁶ For these pieces and the clock that went with them, see the discussions in Eriksen 1974.

¹⁵⁷ See Appendix 17 for these and other allegedly Napoleon-related items in the 1853 inventory and earlier and later inventories.

Dressing Room, while the Duke's specially commissioned tapestry of the Empress was installed in the New State Boudoir, in a "richly carved & gilt frame" supplied in 1848.¹⁵⁸

The "Medici sequence" was held in reserve until the last rooms and was clearly intended to encourage people to think of the Duke and his family as the Medici of Scotland. The sequence in the west wing started with the large *pietre dure* casket (Fig.138) in the second room (the Drawing Room).¹⁵⁹ Then came no fewer than three Medici portraits – of Grand Duke Cosimo de' Medici, his wife Eleonora of Toledo, and Don Garcia – in the third room (the Bed Room)¹⁶⁰ and, finally, the "Sebastiano del Piombo" *Pope Clement VII* in the fifth and final room (the Second Dressing Room).¹⁶¹ "Sansovino"'s drawing of the decoration of Florence Cathedral for the visit of Pope Leo X was in the anteroom to the Duchess's suite in the east wing.¹⁶² The *maiolica* bottles with the arms of Ferdinand I de' Medici and Christina of Lorraine, from Beckford's collection, were exhibited on "2 high antique and richly carved and gilt Pedestals on Dolphin shaped feet" in the first room in the New State Rooms (the Sitting Room)¹⁶³ and the sequence climaxed with *Eleonora of Toledo and her Son* by Bronzino and the "Botticelli" *Adoration of the Magi* from Beckford's collection, which was thought to depict the Medici, in the Boudoir.¹⁶⁴ This was definitely intended to be meaningful, because particularly prized possessions were traditionally shown or kept in the last and smallest State Room and, in this case, it involved taking the *Adoration* from the Old State Rooms, where it had initially been placed,¹⁶⁵ and moving it right across the palace, to the very end room.¹⁶⁶

¹⁵⁸ See HA, Volume 1228, pp.81, 116, 140 and 154, and HTHL, "not from Bath" list, p.3.

¹⁵⁹ HA, Volume 1228, p.142.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.146, and Waagen 1854, III, p.302. Waagen describes Cosimo's wife (whom he calls Isabella) as being 'consumptive-looking' and it seems the Hamilton portrait, which was stated to be 36 x 24 inches in the 1882 sale catalogue, is either the panel now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (which is 34 x 25½ inches), or very similar to it: see Shapley 1973, fig.27 and pp.15-6, and Langedijk 1981, pp.698-9.

¹⁶¹ HA, Volume 1228, p.151, and Waagen 1854, III, p.303.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p.122.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.109.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.117.

¹⁶⁵ HTHL, list of items from Bath, p.1.

¹⁶⁶ It is worth noting that the Duke had Beckford's magnificent manuscript *Preparatio ad missam pontificalem*, made for Pope Leo X (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York), with illumination attributed to Attavante degli Attavanti, in the Hamilton Library in 1851. He showed the manuscript to Waagen in the Hamilton Library, even though Waagen made a separate visit to the Beckford Library: Waagen 1854, III, pp.307-8.

The distribution of items associated with Michelangelo also followed this general pattern of displaying good pieces in the main public rooms and the most highly regarded work in the New State Boudoir: the cabinet believed to have been designed by Michelangelo (Fig.129) and “The Holy Family [by] Venusti” were shown in the New Sitting Room,¹⁶⁷ while the “best” Michelangelo-related item – “Christ driving the Money Changers out of the temple [by] Venusti” – was installed in the holy of holies, the Boudoir.¹⁶⁸

The final displays made extremely good use of exceptional pieces of furniture and items associated with great emperors, kings and queens, popes and patrons to project the 10th Duke’s status, bolster his claim to the dukedom of Châtellerault, and highlight his abilities and achievements as a patron and collector. However, they were not “family or user friendly”.

Hamilton Palace, its collections and displays were one of the greatest carefully conceived constructions by any patron and collector, but they were really only useful to the Hamilton family if succeeding generations shared the 10th Duke’s tastes, outlook and priorities and wanted to use the palace as a powerhouse/treasure house for personal or party politics, grand-scale entertaining and displaying works of art. They were either an awe-inspiring asset or “tied-up funds” and a “White Elephant” with a very uncertain future ahead of them.

¹⁶⁷ HA, Volume 1228, pp.103 and 105.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.117. Five other paintings that were evidently highly regarded by the Duke were displayed in the Boudoir (*ibid.*). They included the panels of Tuccia and Sophonisba (or Artemesia) by Mantegna (National Gallery, London), which were in the same frame; Rubens’s grisaille sketch of Gasparo de Guzman, Count of Olivarez (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels); and a “Madonna” by Sassoferrato. A rather weak oil sketch of the *Transfiguration* (now in the Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery, London), attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo by Waagen (Waagen 1854, III, p.305) but ascribed to “Polidoro” in the 1853 inventory and either a work by Polidoro da Caravaggio or one of his followers, seems to have been in the Boudoir largely because of an inscription which mentions the Emperor Charles V. Waagen understood this to mean that the painting had been presented to the Emperor in 1518, but it seems to refer to the execution of the work in memory of the Emperor (“PER M.AE.CAROLI V R.I.”), and the date 1518 raises problems as Charles was not elected Emperor until June 1519. For a discussion of the panel, see Leone de Castris 2001, pp.362-6 and pl.81.

Post Mortem: Continuity, Crisis and Collapse

Since at least 1835, eleven paintings of the *Labours of Hercules* (Fig.139) had hung in the Duke's Sitting Room¹ – presumably to inspire him. More recently, the Duke had apparently been sleeping in William Beckford's old bed,² which suggests that he saw himself as Beckford's successor and equal as a patron and collector.

He died proud of his own achievements and believing that his son and Princess Marie would preserve the palace and collection and add to them. In this he was fully justified, because the 11th Duke and his wife used the palace and enriched the Hamilton collections with antiquarian material (including the mid-sixteenth-century Milanese damascened-iron chess-table from the Débruge-Dumenil and Soltikov collections (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum)), English and Continental silver, and works associated with the Stuarts³ and the Bonapartes.

The Napoleonic items are particularly interesting because they continued and developed one of the principal aspects of the 10th Duke's collecting and patronage. However, they are associated primarily with Princess Marie's cousin, the Emperor Napoleon III, rather than Napoleon I.

During his first exile in the 1840s, Louis-Napoleon attended the christening of the couple's son in London and stayed with the family at Brodick Castle. In December 1851 Douglas and the Princess held a ball at the Hôtel Bristol, in the Place Vendôme, to celebrate the Prince-President's successful *coup d'état* four nights before. A year later the new Duke and Duchess of Hamilton rode in front of Napoléon le Grand's nephew when he made his state entry into Paris and saw him proclaimed Emperor in front of the Hôtel de Ville. After this the Hamiltons – and especially the Princess – were frequent visitors to the Tuileries. They attended functions, private meals, Mass and Christmas festivities; stayed with the Emperor at Saint-Cloud and other palaces and retreats; and Marie acted as hostess if the Empress Eugénie was not present.

¹ HA, Volume 1223, p.160, and HA, Volume 1228, p.159. These paintings were de-accessioned from the Arnot Art Museum, Elmira, New York State, in the 1970s.

² The 1853 inventory records "a fine Oak Stump Bedstead with carved head board & 3 feet wide" in the Duke's bedroom, and the entry is annotated "M^e Beckford died upon this bed at Bath": HA, Volume 1228, p.160.

³ On these, see Evans 2003b.

Louis-Napoleon's and Marie's close friendship led to the exchange of many gifts. One of the most significant early imperial presents was the table with a Sèvres porcelain top painted with flowers by Louis-Pierre Schilt (now in the Musée d'Orsay, Paris) (Fig.140),⁴ which was given to Marie by Eugénie in 1853-54, during the first year of her marriage to the Emperor,⁵ and was subsequently displayed in the Library.⁶

The declaration of war against Russia in March 1854 and movement of British and French armies to the Crimea seems to have stimulated the Duke to encourage Patric Park – who had submitted a request to borrow his bust of the 10th Duke for an exhibition in Edinburgh⁷ – to join him in Paris in June⁸ and to commission a marble bust of Napoleon III from the previously disgraced court sculptor as a demonstration of British-French solidarity (Figs.141-142).⁹ The following year the Princess commissioned a portrait of herself from Richard Buckner “for the Empress of the French”, which was priced at £42,¹⁰ and went on to order a desk for the Emperor from “Hancock” – presumably Charles Frederick Hancock of Bruton Street/New Bond Street – that turned out to be much more expensive than she had expected.¹¹

Surprisingly the two copies of Winterhalter's state portraits of the Emperor and Empress of 1853, which hung above the great black marble staircase (Fig.97), were not imperial gifts to the Hamiltons. They must have been presented by Napoleon III to the Grand Duchess Stéphanie and were sent from Mannheim in 1860 by the Princess, after her mother's death, along with “a beautiful [picture] of the Emp: Napoleon 1st”, which was “smaller”.¹²

⁴ See Bascou, Massé and Thiébaud 1988, p.196.

⁵ The presentation inscription includes the date “4 avril 1853”, but the Sèvres Archive records that the *guéridon* was not officially offered to the Princess until 29 December 1853 (Registre Vbb 11, f.295v.). I am grateful to Tamara Préaud for this reference.

⁶ HTHL, 1876 Hamilton Palace inventory, p.4.

⁷ See NLS, Acc. 10098/2, 122, Brown to Park, 9 February 1853.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 164, 11th Duke to Park, 3 June 1854.

⁹ *Building Chronicle*, 26 July 1854, p.53. Park actually produced two busts of Napoleon III and more information about them will be found in Appendix 20.

¹⁰ See the printed list of Buckner's commissions in the Witt Library, taken from his account book, p.22, under November 1855, and HA, Bundle 2834, Princess Marie to 11th Duke, 31 December [1856/7].

¹¹ HA, Bundle 2834, Princess to Duke, 11 December [1857].

¹² HA, Bundle 2837, Princess to Duke, 1 July 1860. The portrait of the Empress was apparently signed by Joseph-Nicolas Jouy and dated 1856: see Christie, Manson and Woods' sale of Hamilton paintings, 6 November 1919, lot 79. The portrait of Napoleon may have been the “Portrait of the Emperor

The Empress Eugénie visited Hamilton Palace on 27 November 1860,¹³ but the visible high point in the relationship between the two families came in July 1863, when the 11th Duke fell leaving the Maison Dorée and fatally hit his head on the stone steps. Both the Emperor and Empress were present at his death, with Eugénie trying to keep him alive “by the use of hot-water cloths”.¹⁴ The Emperor went into mourning for a fortnight and ordered that the Duke’s body should be transported to Scotland with all honour. It was taken to Cherbourg, where the “whole naval and military establishments of that great French arsenal were ordered out to receive it”. The coffin was then placed on board the French Imperial paddle despatch boat *Dauphin* and sent to the Clyde, accompanied by the Imperial Chamberlain, the Duke of Bassano, and members of the Hamilton family, and with the corvette *Loiret* sailing alongside as escort vessel.

At Greenock “nearly 10,000 spectators” watched the casket being taken ashore by the French and British armed forces. Four liveried servants of the Emperor walked beside it and also took part in the funeral two days later.¹⁵

This, though, was not Napoleon III’s final act of respect and solicitude, because in April 1864 he “maintained and confirmed” the hereditary title of duc de Châtellerault on the new 12th Duke of Hamilton. Despite the language it was actually a fresh creation, which totally rejected the claims of the Marquess of Abercorn in favour of his own relatives.

The 12th Duke naturally appreciated the honour and offered Napoleon III the use of his residences in Scotland after his capture by the Germans following the fall of Sedan in September 1870.¹⁶ Moreover, after the Empress’s arrival in England, the Duke crossed over to France in his new steam yacht, the *Thistle*, and rescued some of her costume and belongings from the Tuileries.¹⁷

Napoleon 1st in his Robes of State” in the Duchess’s Sitting Room, Hamilton Palace, in 1876 (HTHL, 1876 inventory, p.59).

¹³ See *Times*, 29 November 1860, p.10.

¹⁴ For this and what follows, see the *Glasgow Herald*, 22 July 1863, p.4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 24 July 1863, p.4.

¹⁶ See HA, Bundle 754, Napoleon III to 12th Duke, 17 September 1870.

¹⁷ Murat 1910, pp.214-5.

In January 1878 the Duke entertained Prince Louis Napoleon, the Prince of Wales and the Crown Prince of Austria at Hamilton Palace.¹⁸ It was the last time that the palace was really used as a powerhouse, full of treasures, because – even with better returns as a result of deep mining – the agricultural depression and credit crunch meant that it was becoming impossible to service the combination of old debt and the Duke's own extravagant expenditure when money supply was reduced and interest rates were rising.

As the 12th Duke had married a daughter of the Duke of Manchester, rather than an American heiress (which became the rapidly growing trend), the only way to reduce debt and the danger of bankruptcy was to sell a large part of the Hamilton and Beckford collections. There can be no doubt that much of the fault lay with the 12th Duke, who was preoccupied with sport and pleasure, but the forced sale of the 10th Duke's beloved collections also stemmed from his own failure to sell the Lancashire estate, which had cost over £100,000 in interest charges and had carried £125,000 in debt,¹⁹ and to invest the proceeds and other money in the development of coal, ironstone and fireclay production in central Scotland and engage more closely with the railway companies and iron masters – as Robert Brown had urged.

Thus, in June-July 1882 Christie, Manson and Woods auctioned the majority of the best fine and applied art, in 2,213 lots over seventeen days, for the then astronomic sum of £397,562 0s 6d. It was one of the greatest sales in British history and the most important sale of furniture since the dispersal of the French royal and aristocratic collections during the French Revolution. But it was only one of a number of sales. That same year, the "Hamilton Manuscripts" were sold to Berlin by private treaty sale for about £70,000. Between June 1882 and the end of November 1883, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge sold the Beckford Library, as 9,837 lots in four portions over forty days, for £73,551 18s;²⁰ and in May 1884 the same firm auctioned 2,136 lots of the Hamilton Library, over eight days, for £12,892 12s 6d.²¹

¹⁸ *Illustrated London News*, 19 January 1878, p.62. The relationship between the Hamiltons and the Bonapartes continued after this date. Following his death in 1895, the Empress Eugénie acquired the 12th Duke's second yacht, the (second) *Thistle* (launched in 1881), and used it up to the First World War.

¹⁹ HA, Volume 1260, p.506, Brown to Marquis of Douglas, 9 January 1843.

²⁰ *Catalogues of the Beckford Library*, 30 June-13 July 1882, 11-23 December 1882, 2-14 July 1883, and 27-30 November 1884.

²¹ *Catalogue of the Hamilton Library*, 1-9 May 1884.

With over ninety per cent of its first-rate contents gone, Hamilton Palace became a needless massive millstone around the family's neck. The death of the 12th Duke without a male heir in 1895, and the succession of a distant cousin who was soon confined to a wheelchair, ensured that its days were numbered. In 1915 the Ducal Trustees and Commissioners granted permission for coal to be extracted directly underneath the palace and mausoleum. This seems to have been agreed as part of the war effort, but it must have been realized that the inevitable subsidence would ease the way for the demolition of the palace.

After some disagreement and delay, Christie's held a series of sales of works of art, interiors and fittings in November 1919, and the dismantling of the palace began. In October 1921 the 10th Duke (still in his Egyptian sarcophagus) and his ancestors were removed from the mausoleum and taken on a lorry to the local cemetery, where they were interred in a large grave.

Only seventy years after his death the 10th Duke lay in a mass grave in Bent Cemetery, with most of the Hamilton collections scattered and the panelled rooms stripped out of the palace and with the interior decorators French and Company in New York. To cap it all, his great black marble staircase failed to sell at the 1919 sale and was finally bought for only £45 in 1933,²² while the Atlantes were sold to the local scrap merchant Charles Ireland. The monolithic columns of the Portico were apparently shattered and brought crashing to the ground using explosives.

It was a very tragic end and a dreadful waste of money and effort, which illustrates all too clearly the never-to-be-forgotten point that it is much easier to build and collect than to retain buildings and collections over decades, let alone centuries. That requires the immense wealth of a Frick, Pierpont Morgan or Getty, and the Hamiltons patently lacked this wealth and capability.

This, then, is the story of the rise and fall of the 10th Duke of Hamilton and his palace and collection. As we have seen, it is basically the tale of a man who became premier peer of Scotland through the death of a relative, failed to make a political and diplomatic success in his thirties - early forties, and used his collecting and patronage to demonstrate his actual status, support his claims to other titles and

²² *Hamilton Advertiser*, 18 February 1933, p.4.

honours, counter the challenges of others, and give the impression that he had much greater power and wealth than was the *actualité*. We have seen that the Duke was a successful collector of manuscripts during the first period of his life and that he went on to acquire wonderful paintings, furniture, silver, sculpture and *objets d'art* representing or associated with Catherine the Great, Peter the Great, Napoleon, Francis I of France, Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette, Roman emperors and the Medici.

What we have found is that the Duke had poor eyesight and certainly did not have Beckford's or George IV's "eye" for great art. He was inspired by them, but lacked their resources and connoisseurship. One can, of course, make comparisons between the three men, but there is actually a great chasm between them. Put bluntly, Beckford and George IV were great mainstream art collectors and patrons, whereas the 10th Duke of Hamilton was a propagandist, fabricating and projecting a politico-socio-economic image.

Looking back, what is particularly interesting about the 10th Duke's collecting and patronage are the extent of his networks of agents in Italy, Russia and France; the importance of banks, notably Hoare's, Torlonia's and Laffitte's, as agents and forwarders of items, as well as suppliers of money; and – above all – the Duke's reliance upon his principal factor, Robert Brown, and supplier and decorator, Robert Hume, in both cases for over thirty years.

These aspects cry out for comparison with other collectors and patrons, but an even more fascinating study, based on what has been uncovered here, would be the 10th Duke of Hamilton in relation to George, 7th Lord Kinnaird, his son Charles, 8th Lord Kinnaird, Archibald, 12th Earl of Cassillis, Alexander Murray of Broughton and other Scottish Whig collectors, and in contrast to the arch-conservative 4th Duke of Newcastle (whose son married the 10th Duke's daughter) and his circle. This would clarify the essential differences between Whig and Tory collectors, notably over the collecting of Napoleonica and the celebration and commemoration of British heroes of the French wars. At the same time, it would also highlight common patterns of collecting and patronage²³ and focus attention on how both Whig and Tory grandees

²³ Although Newcastle was at the opposite end of the political spectrum, he owned French furniture, had a collection of sculpture, and bought from the London Marble and Stone Company and suppliers of French carpets.

spent vast sums on land, buildings and collections during the Age of Reform, to convince themselves and others that they were still in control – even if it did lead to crushing debt and even bankruptcy. We have witnessed some bizarre behaviour in the course of this study, but the findings now need to be compared and contrasted with properly researched case studies of other individuals and families, to understand and appreciate fully both the 10th Duke of Hamilton and collecting and patronage in a century of new wealth, democratisation and never-ending change.

Postscript

After the submission of this thesis some additional letters were brought in to West Register House from Lennoxlove which relate to the employment of David Hamilton in 1822. These have not been incorporated into Appendix 11 but are referred to in my article “The Restoration and Enlargement of Hamilton Palace by the 10th Duke of Hamilton, 1806-32”, which will appear in the *Review of Scottish Culture*, Volume 21, 2009, pp.35-66. The Raeburn portrait of the 10th Duke is discussed at greater length in another article, “The 10th Duke of Hamilton and Raeburn”. This will be included in *Henry Raeburn: Critical Reception and International Reputation*, edited by Vicky Coltman and Stephen Lloyd, which is scheduled to be published by the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, in 2009. The 11th Duke and Duchess of Hamilton’s involvement with Napoleon III and France will be reviewed in more depth in my article “The 11th Duke and Duchess of Hamilton and France” in the *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, Volume 14, 2009.

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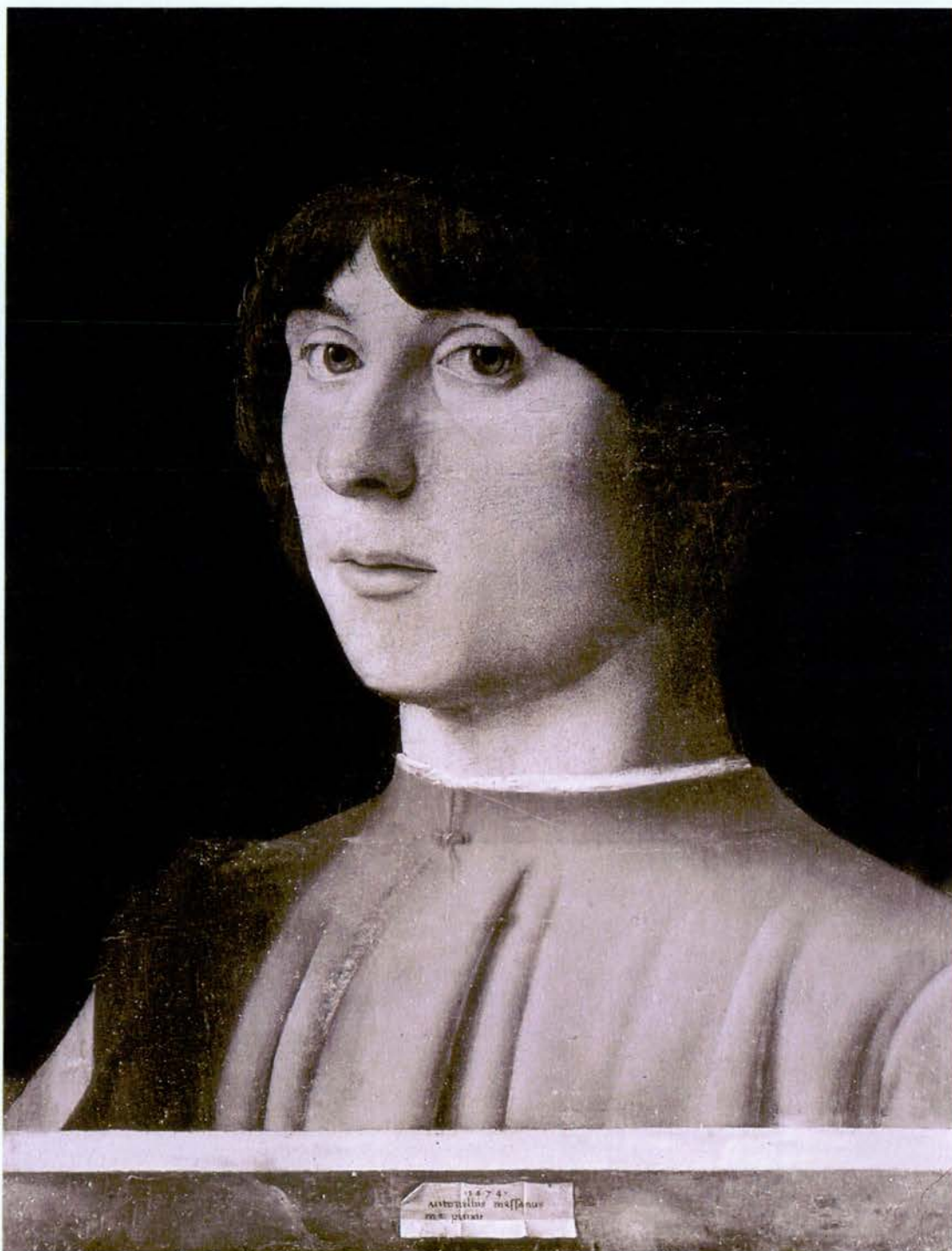


1. Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Alexander Hamilton, later 10th Duke of Hamilton*, 1782.
Oil on canvas, 68.5 x 55 cm. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.

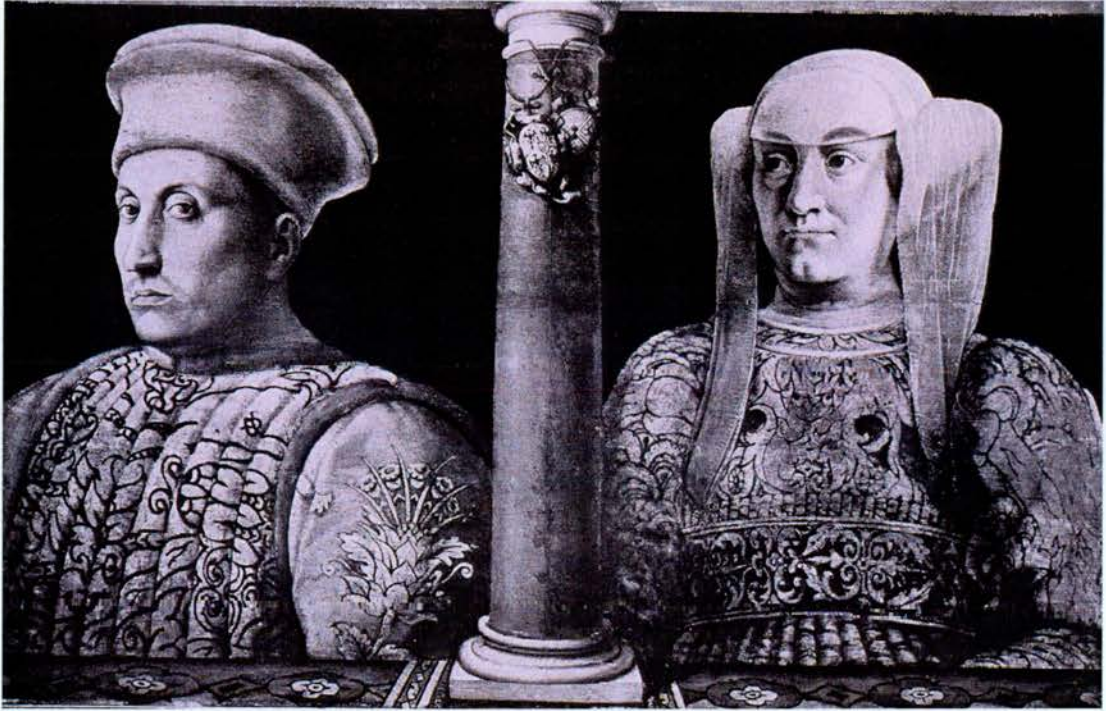


2. Girolamo dai Libri, Altarpiece of the *Madonna and Child with Saints Catherine of Alexandria, Leonard, Augustine and Apollonia*, c.1520. Tempera and oil on canvas, 398.8 x 207 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

The photograph, from the *Country Life* archive, shows the altarpiece on display on the Duchess's or East Stairs in Hamilton Palace shortly before it was sold in the 1919 Hamilton Palace sales.



3. Antonello da Messina, *Portrait of a Man*, signed and dated 1474. Panel, 32 x 26 cm. Staatliche Museen, Berlin.



4. After Andrea Mantegna, *Lodovico Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, and his wife Barbara of Brandenburg*, 16th century. Panel, 70 or 71 x 102 or 105.5 cm. Whereabouts unknown.



5. Attributed to a "Follower of Titian", *Mythological Scene with episodes from the stories of Adonis and Myrrha*, 16th century. Panel, 76.2 x 132.7 cm. discounting added strips. National Gallery, London.



6. Andrea Schiavone, *Ecce Homo*, c.1558-60. Oil on canvas, 121 x 147 cm. Collection of Franco Steffanoni, Bergamo.



7. Andrea Schiavone, *Christ before Pilate*, c.1555-58. Oil on canvas, 102 x 157 cm. Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace.



8. Luca Signorelli, Altarpiece of *The Circumcision of Christ*, c.1491, partly repainted by Sodoma. Oil on poplar, transferred to modern composite panel, 258.5 x 180 cm. National Gallery, London.



9. Paul Storr, Pair of Covered Dishes on Warmers, 1806. Silver (dishes and covers) and Sheffield Plate (heater bases), approximately 26.5 cm. high x 33 cm. wide. With ADC Heritage, London, in 1988.

These pieces formed part of the Marquis of Douglas's expanded ambassadorial service. The dishes and covers apparently weigh 132 ounces and are therefore too heavy to be two of the "8 Shaped Dishes and Covers" totalling 250 ounces which were supplied by Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to the Royal Jewel House in 1806 for Douglas's service. With their heaters, they seem to be items added to the service by Douglas in 1806.



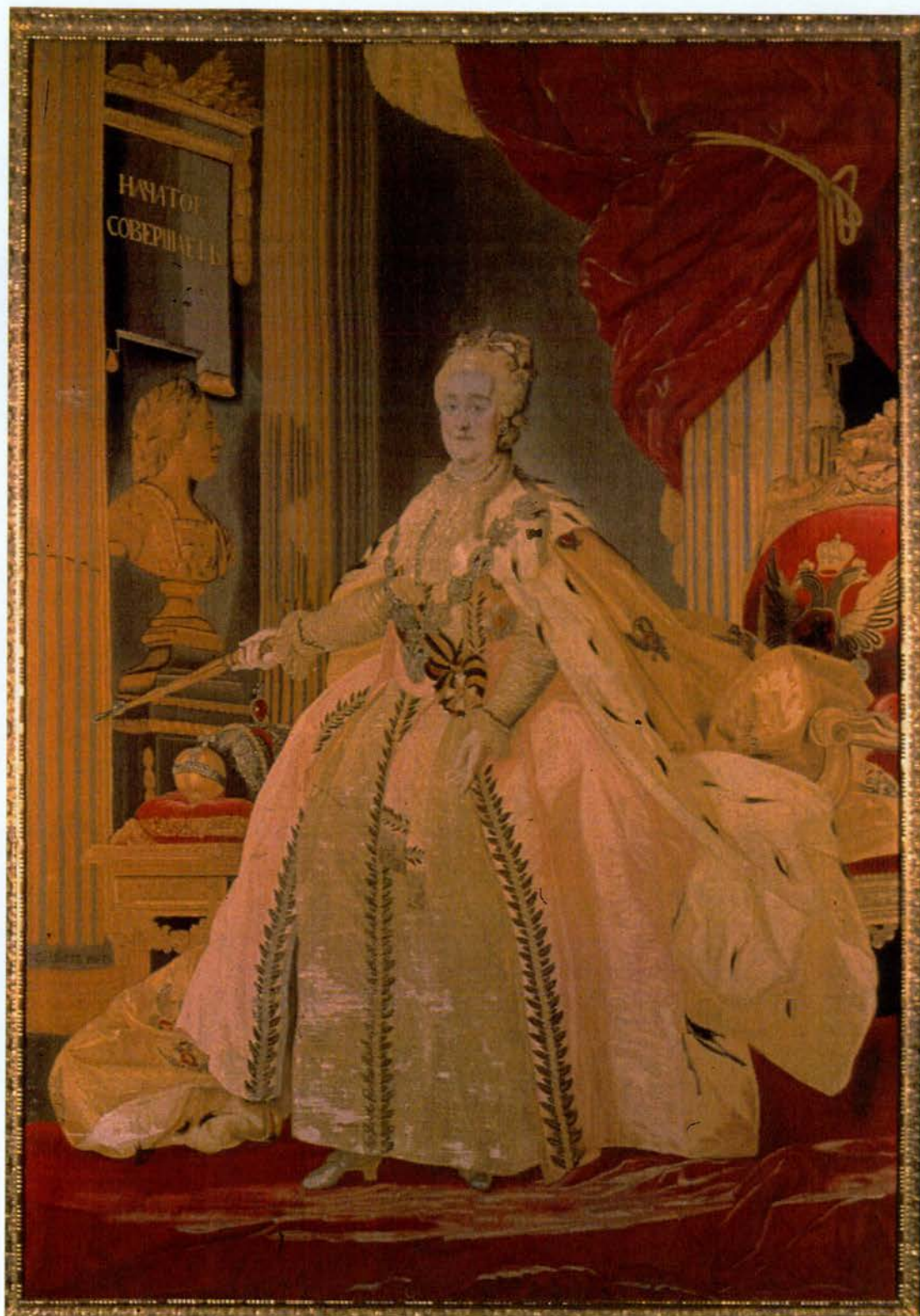
10. Illustration of the “Bust of Peter the Great, in armour, in bronze” published in Christie’s catalogue of the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 1900). The illustration shows the copy after Bartolomeo Carlo Rastrelli’s bronze bust of the Tsar, which was commissioned by Douglas in 1807/8 and was awaiting shipment to Britain in 1812.



11. Unknown Maker, *Bust of the Empress Catherine II* after the marble bust by Jean-Antoine Houdon, inscribed "Houdon 1780". Bronze, 86 cm. high. State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. Owned by Prince Alexei Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky (1824-96).



12. Photograph of the tapestry of the Empress Catherine II, dated St Petersburg 1811, from the "Hamilton Palace Collection" in the French and Company Archive in the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.



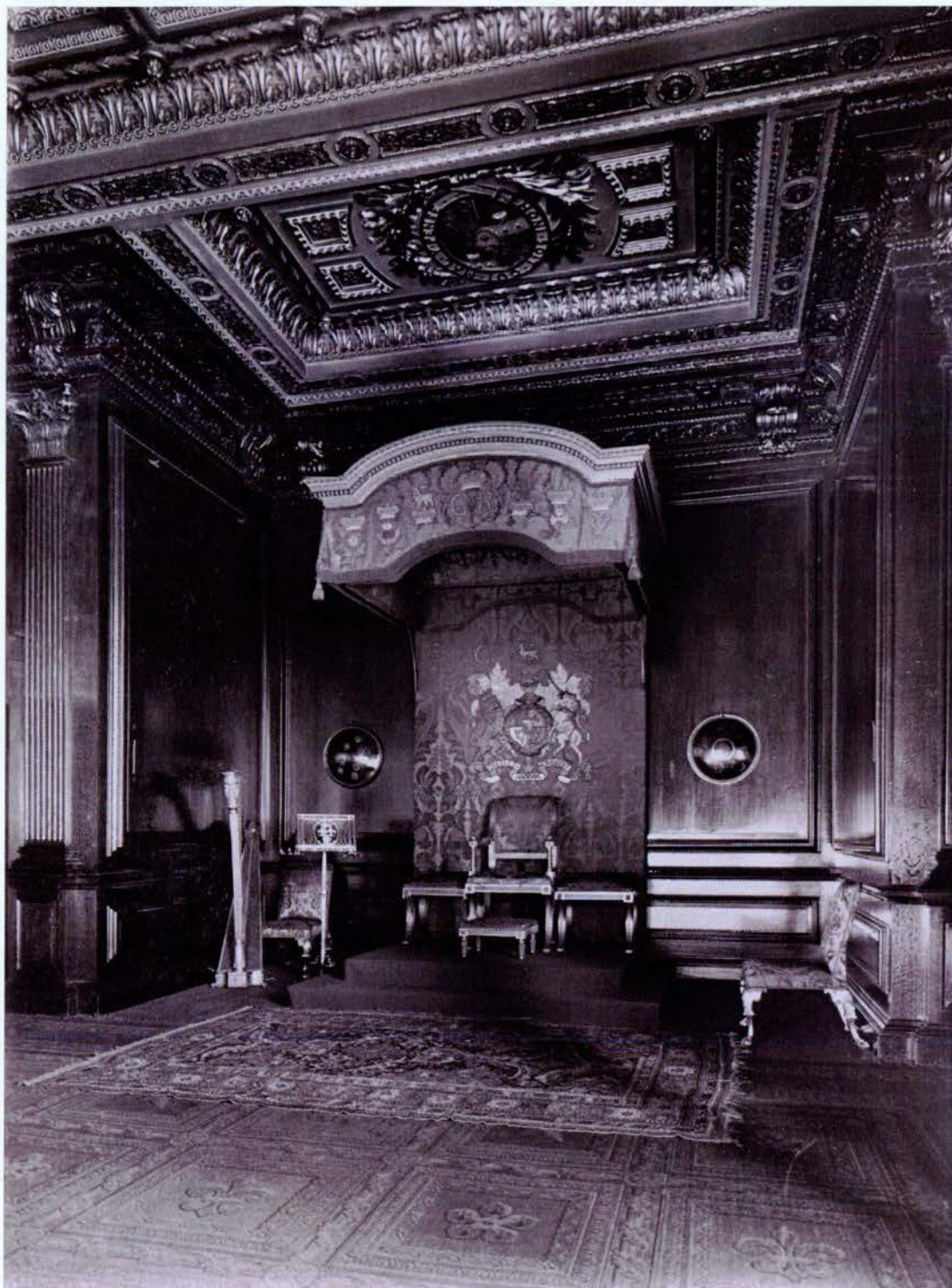
13. Imperial Tapestry Manufactory, St Petersburg, *The Empress Catherine II*, dated St Petersburg 1811. Tapestry, 264.5 x 182 cm. Musée Fondation Zoubov, Geneva.



14. Two-sided Pendant with Cameo Portrait of the Emperor Tiberius and a Medici Emblem. Cameo: Roman, 1st Century A.D. (?). Pendant: Italian or French, 16th century. Agate, gold, enamel and pearl, 8 x 4.8 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago.



15. After Vigilius Eriksen, *The Empress Catherine II riding "Brilliant" on 28/29 June 1762*. Oil on canvas (?), approximately 100 x 87.5 cm. From a photograph in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York, associated with Christie's sale, London, 3 May 1929, lot 49.



16. The 10th Duke of Hamilton's ambassadorial canopy and throne at the east end of the Gallery in Hamilton Palace in 1919. *Country Life* photograph in the Hamilton Archive.



17. Sir Peter Paul Rubens, *The Loves of the Centaurs*, c.1635. Oil on panel, 49.5 x 73.7 cm. Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon.



18. Jacopo Tintoretto and workshop, *The Resurrection of Christ*, 1555-56? Oil on canvas, 161 x 153 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Originally octagonal, with inferior additions.



19. Formerly attributed to Domenichino, *The Triumph of David*. Approximately 211 x 150 cm. Whereabouts unknown.



20. Sir Peter Paul Rubens, Sketch of *Decius Mus addressing the Legions* for a tapestry commission, probably 1616. Oil on panel, transferred to hardboard, 80.7 x 84.7 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington.



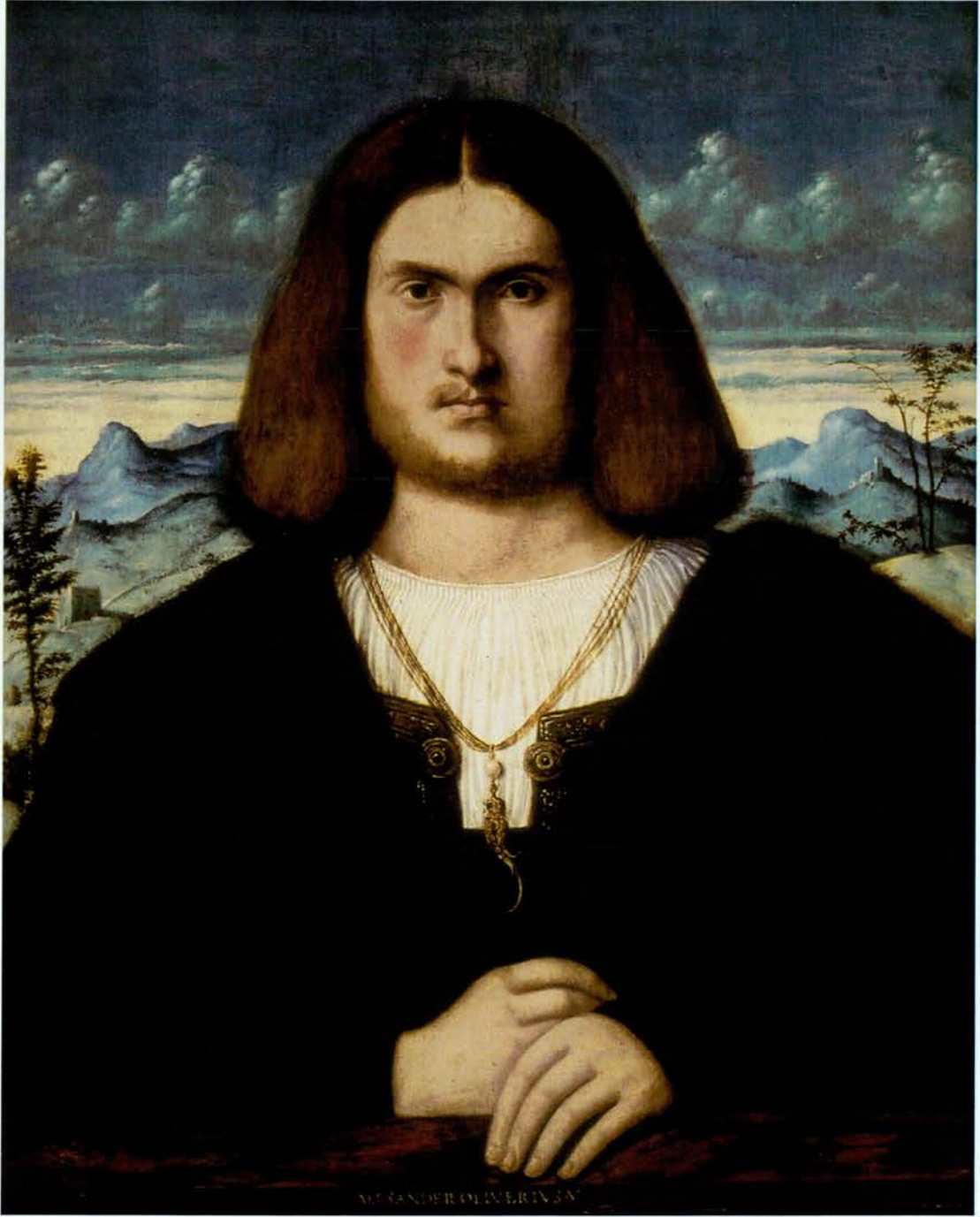
21. Sir Peter Paul Rubens, Sketch of *Christ Triumphant over Sin and Death* for the painting that used to hang over the tomb of Jeremias Cock and his family in the church of St Walburga in Antwerp, c.1618-22?. Oil on panel, 30.5 x 28.5 cm. Stolen from Brooklyn Museum of Art in 1933.



22. Sir Peter Paul Rubens, Sketch of *Henri IV during the Battle of Ivry* for the (unfinished) painting intended for the Henri IV Gallery in the Luxembourg Palace, Paris, c.1628. Oil on panel, 23 x 46 cm. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.



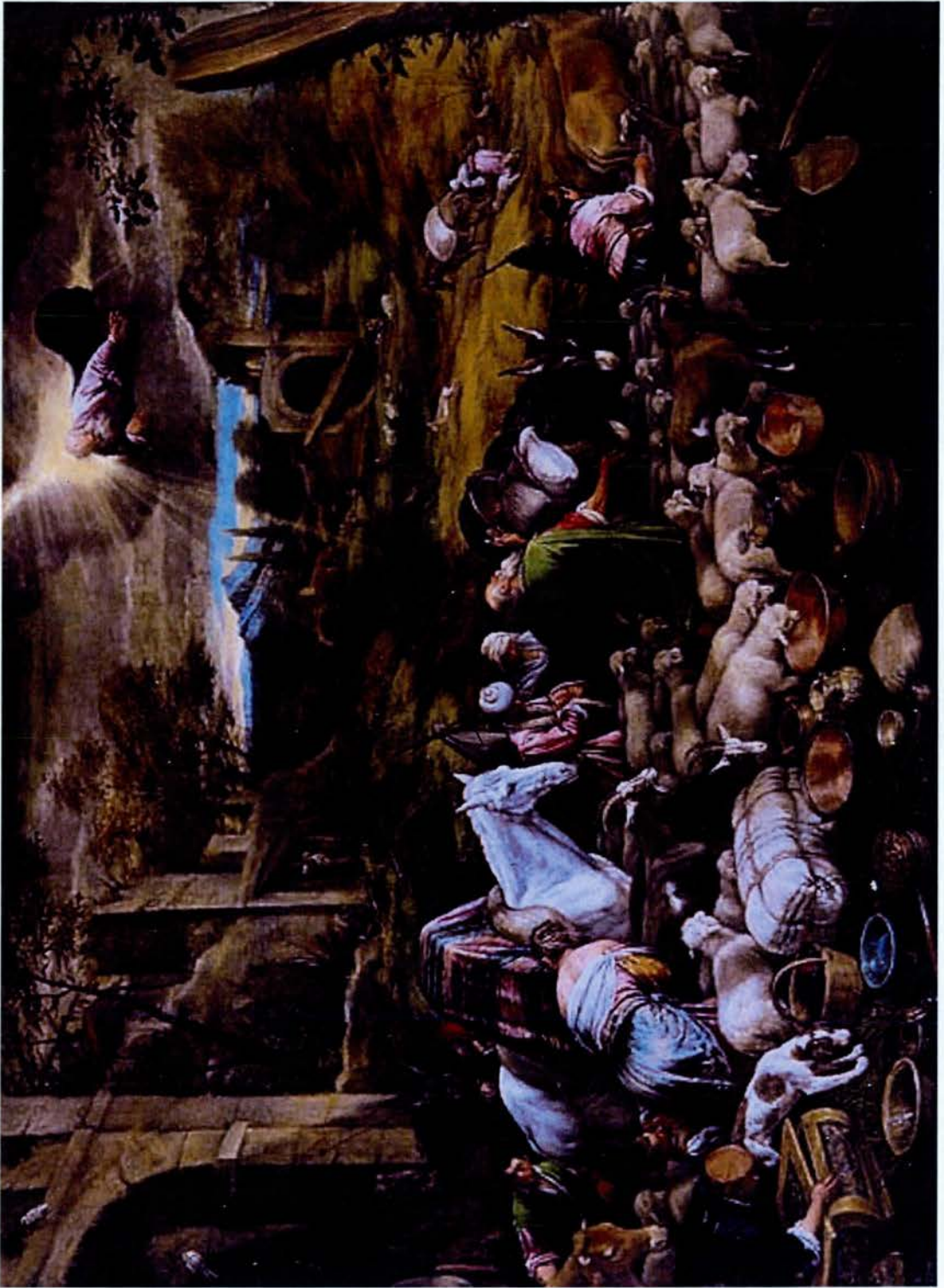
23. Meindert Hobbema, *Landscape with a Water-mill*, signed bottom left: "M. Hobbema". Oil on panel, approximately 61 x 84.5 cm. Elton Hall, near Peterborough.



24. Alessandro Oliverio, *Portrait of a Young Man*, c.1510-20. Oil on wood, 67 x 57 cm. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.



25. Nicolas Poussin, *The Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, c.1657-60. Oil on canvas, 94 x 130 cm. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.



26. Jacopo and Francesco Bassano, *The Departure of Abraham for Canaan*, c.1570. Oil on canvas, 191 x 257 cm. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.



27. Guido Reni, *The Martyrdom of St Sebastian*. Oil on canvas, 167.6 x 130.2 cm. Auckland Art Gallery, Auckland.



28. Attributed to William Scrots and his studio, *Edward VI*. Oil on panel, 167 x 90.8 cm. Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace.



29. Sir Peter Paul Rubens, Sketch for a basin decorated with the *Birth of Venus* and Neptune and Amphitrite, early 1630s. Black chalk and oil on oak, 61 x 78 cm. National Gallery, London.

An inscription on an etching by Jacob Neeffs of a basin showing the same decoration and an accompanying ewer states they were made by the Antwerp goldsmith Theodore Rogiers (or Rasières) for King Charles I, after paintings by Rubens.



30. Guercino, *A Sibyl*, c.1619-21. Oil on canvas, 72.7 x 61.7 cm. The Art Fund, London.

It used to be thought that Guercino executed this as a study for the figure of St Irene in the large painting of *St Sebastian succoured by St Irene* (now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale Bologna) and subsequently turned it into an autonomous picture that he could sell. However, the lack of *pentimenti* suggest that it is autograph repetition/adaptation.



31. Bartolomeo Schedoni, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, c.1608-10. Oil on panel, 47 x 38 cm. The Art Fund, London.



32. Andrea Mantegna, *The Vestal Virgin Tuccia with Sieve and Sophonisba (?) drinking Poison*, c.1495-1506. Egg tempera with gold highlighting on poplar, each 72.5 x 23 cm. National Gallery, London.



33. Attributed to El Greco, *St Jerome as Cardinal*. Oil on canvas, 1590-1600. 59 x 48 cm. National Gallery, London.



34. Sir Peter Paul Rubens, Sketch of *The Descent from the Cross* for the High Altarpiece of the Church of the Capuchins in Lille, probably 1616 or 1617. Oil on panel, 54.5 x 41.5 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille.



35. Sir Anthony Van Dyck, *Henrietta of Lorraine, Princess of Pfalzburg and Lixheim, attended by a Page*, signed and dated 1634. Oil on canvas, 213.4 x 127 cm. Kenwood House, London.



36. Jacopo Tintoretto, *Moses striking the Rock*, c.1555. Oil on canvas, 118.1 x 182 cm. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main.



37. Jacques-Louis David, *The Emperor Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries*, signed and dated 1812. Oil on canvas, 203.9 x 125.1 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington.



38. Sir Henry Raeburn, *Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton*, c.1812-23. Oil on canvas, 249 x 183 cm. Trustees of the Cowdray Settled Estate.



39. One of two porphyry slabs bought by the Marquis of Douglas in Rome in 1817, mounted on gilt-bronze bases commissioned by Douglas from the Parisian *bronzier* Jean-François Dénier and signed and dated 1823. Porphyry, gilt bronze and black marble, 70 x 220 x 100 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto.



40. The Farnese Table in the Dining Room in Hamilton Palace in 1919. Photograph by *Country Life* in the Hamilton Archive. The Farnese Table, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, was made for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-89), 'the Great Cardinal', probably between about 1566/68 and 1573, and measures 95.3 x 379.1 x 168.3 cm. It was almost certainly designed by the Cardinal's chief architect Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, who died in 1573, and the marble piers were probably carved by Guglielmo della Porta and the Farnese Palace workshop. The *pietre dure* top, incorporating two large panels of Egyptian alabaster, coloured marbles and semiprecious stones, is attributed to the French master Jean Ménard, who was called Giovanni Mynardo in Italy.



41. Thomas Campbell, *Princess Pauline Borghese*, commissioned by the 6th Duke of Devonshire in 1824 and completed in 1840. Marble, 142 x 123.5 x 60.5 cm. Chatsworth House, Derbyshire.



42. Unknown Roman sculptor, *Variant version after the top part of the statue of the Aphrodite of Cnidus by Praxiteles*, early 2nd century AD (probably Hadrianic period) on “modern” socle. Parian marble, 83 cm. high. British Museum, London.



43. Pontormo, *Joseph with Jacob in Egypt*, c.1518. Oil on panel, 96.5 x 109.5 cm. National Gallery, London.

Vasari judged this to be Pontormo's finest painting. It is believed to have been in the Borghese collection, but it is not clear when it left the collection or whether the Borghese connection had any bearing on its acquisition by the 10th Duke of Hamilton.



44. Robert Hume and others, Cabinet with clock commissioned by the 10th Duke of Hamilton, 1820-24. Ebony, gilt bronze, *pietre dure*, jasper, lapis lazuli, agate, black marble, red Verona marble, mirrors, and other materials, 115.6 x 165.1 x 55.9 cm. The Gilbert Collection, London.



45. Martin-Guillaume Biennais, The Travelling Service of Princess Pauline Borghese, c.1803, bequeathed to the 10th Duke of Hamilton in 1825. Items of silver-gilt, gold, glass, tortoiseshell, and other materials, stored in a mahogany chest with inlaid brass decoration. The chest 18.7 x 57.3 x 40 cm. National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh.

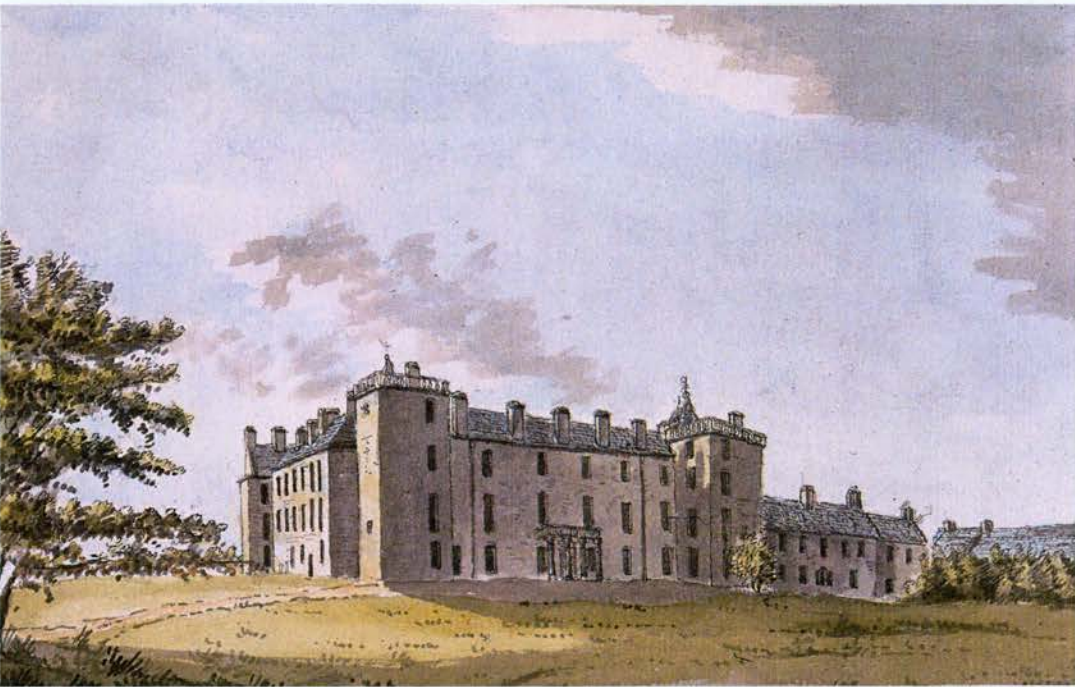


46. Workshop of Francesco di Giovanni di Taddeo Ferrucci, called Il Tadda, or his son, Romolo di Francesco del Tadda?, Copy in porphyry of the white marble bust of the so-called *Dying Alexander*, which was definitely owned by the Medici by 1579 and has been in the Uffizi since at least the end of the seventeenth century and probably longer. Porphyry and coloured marble, measurements and current whereabouts unknown.

The Hamilton Palace head seems to be more highly finished than the fine porphyry head of the “Dying Alexander”, with white marble drapery, attributed to the Tadda workshop in the Museo dell’Opificio delle Pietre Dure in Florence, as well as the poorer version, with an alabaster bust, associated with the same workshop now in the Bargello. If the attribution is correct, it would seem likely that the Hamilton head was commissioned by either the Grand Duke Francesco or his brother, Cardinal Ferdinando de’ Medici, who became Grand Duke of Florence in 1587.



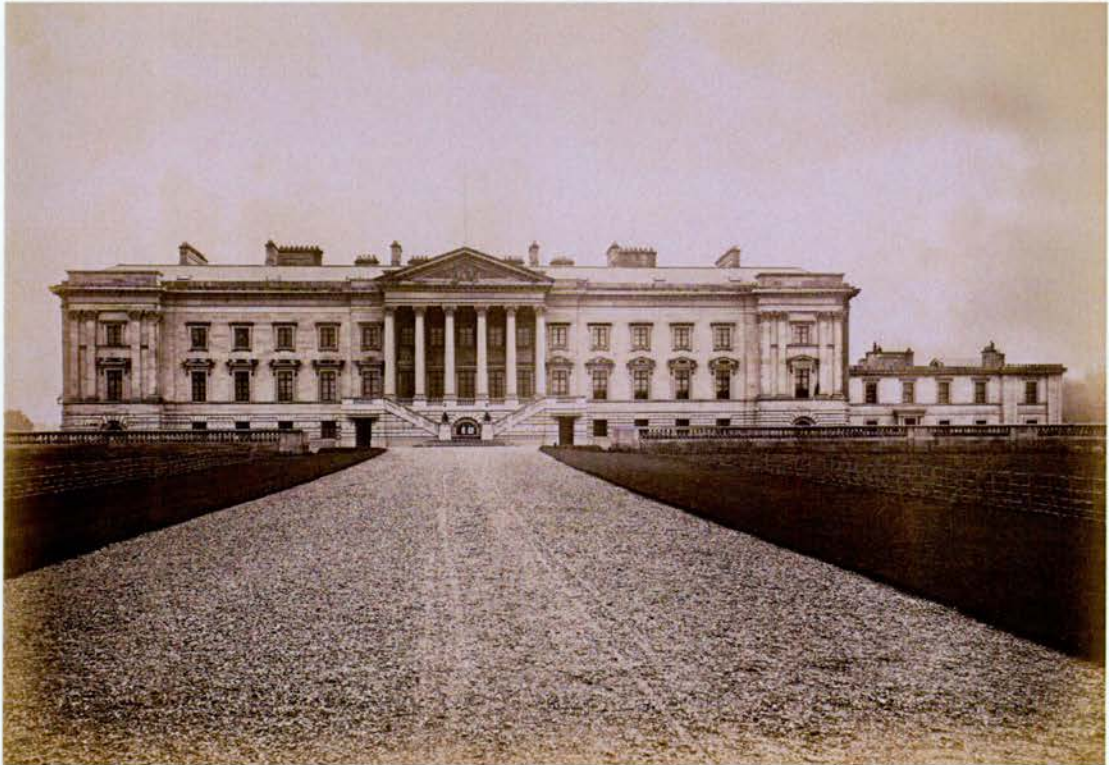
47. Photograph of the Baroque part of Hamilton Palace (the southern façade and west and east wings), designed by James Smith and built between about 1693 and 1701. *Country Life* Archive.



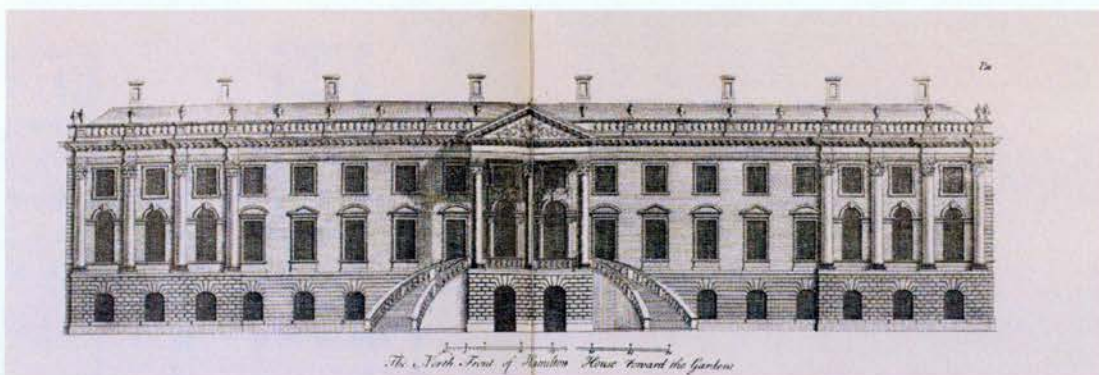
48. Thomas Cocking, *The Old North Front of Hamilton Palace*, 1789, in Robert Riddell's *Journal of a Tour in Scotland in 1789 made by Captain Grose and Captain Riddell*. Watercolour, the view 21.3 x 13.1 cm. on (tipped in) paper 24.8 x over 19.6 cm. National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh (Ms 586, p.228a). Tom Cocking was Francis Grose's "accomplished servant".



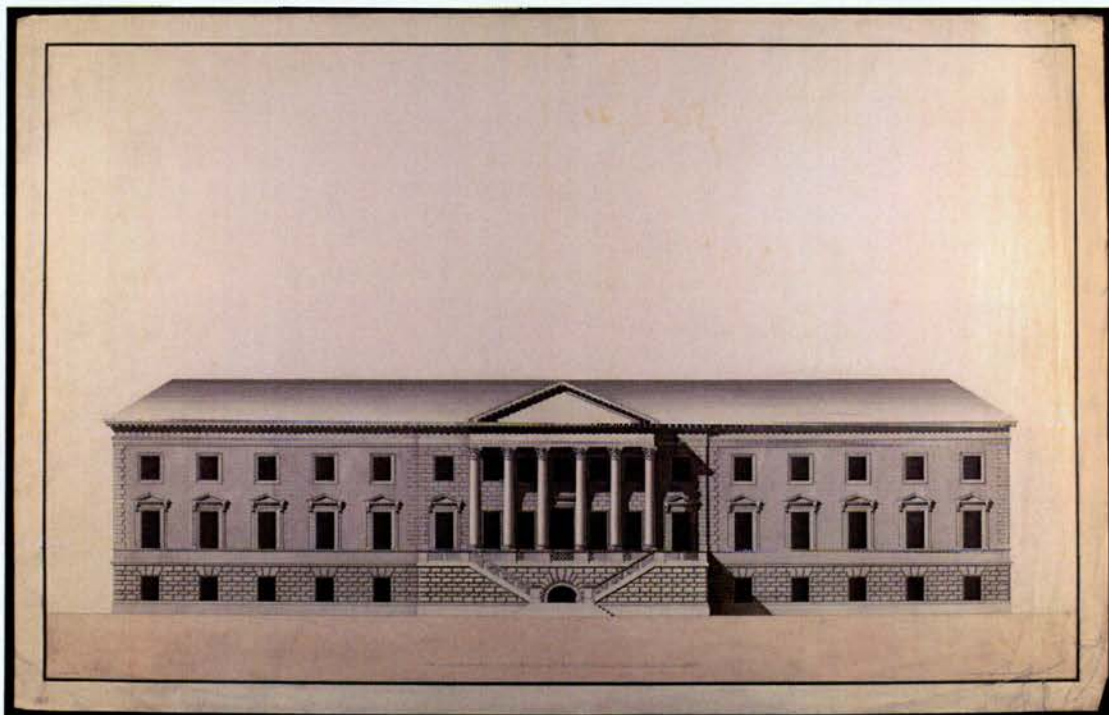
49. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the Approach to the new North Extension of Hamilton Palace. Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton.



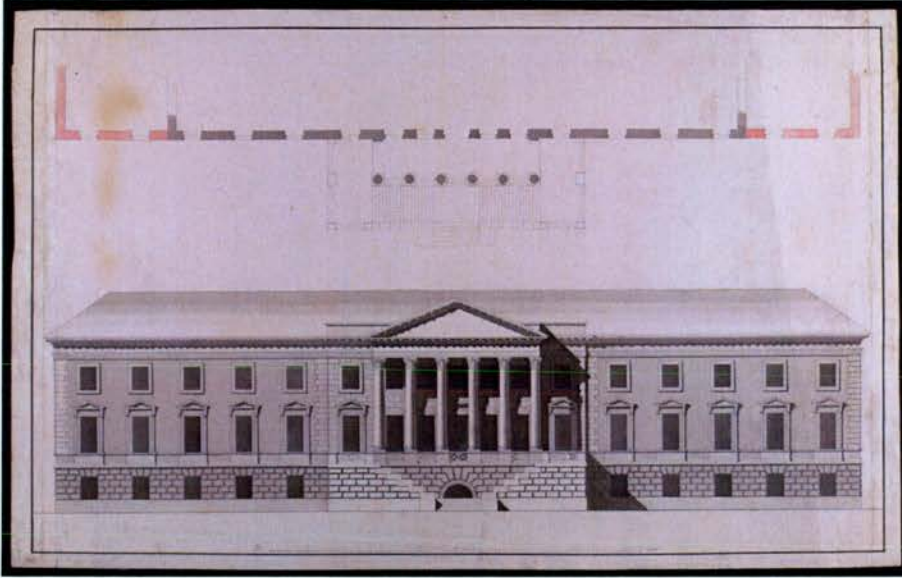
50. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the North Extension of Hamilton Palace, designed by David Hamilton and the 10th Duke of Hamilton and built between about 1822 and 1830. Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton.



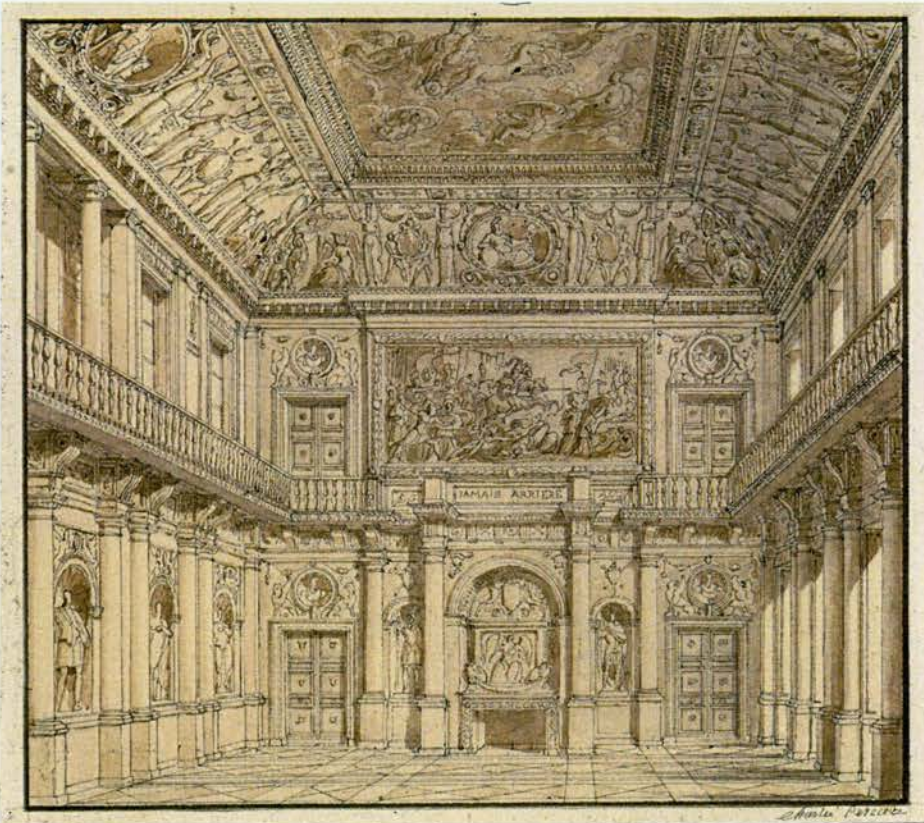
51. William Adam, *Design for the North Front of Hamilton Palace*, prepared for the 5th Duke of Hamilton between the late 1720s and the Duke's death in 1743. Published in *Vitruvius Scoticus* in 1812, plate 11. Fig. 51 has been scanned from the 1980 reprint of the copy of *Vitruvius Scoticus* in Glasgow University Library.



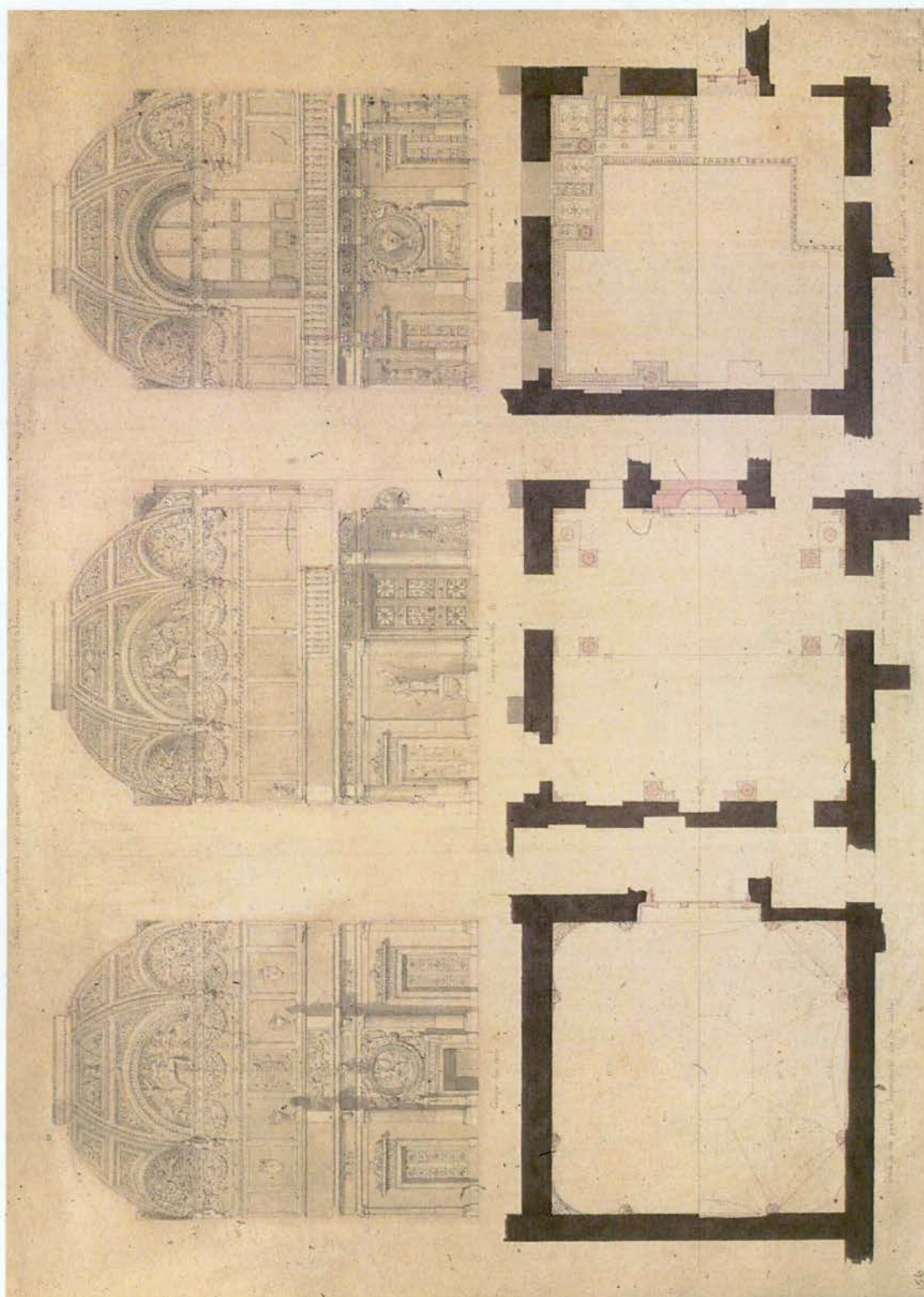
52. Francesco Saponieri, *Design for the North Front of Hamilton Palace*, signed "Francesco Saponieri Architetto Napolitano" (bottom right) and dated "Roma 1819" (bottom left). Ink and wash on paper, 54.7 x 85 cm. Hamilton Archive.



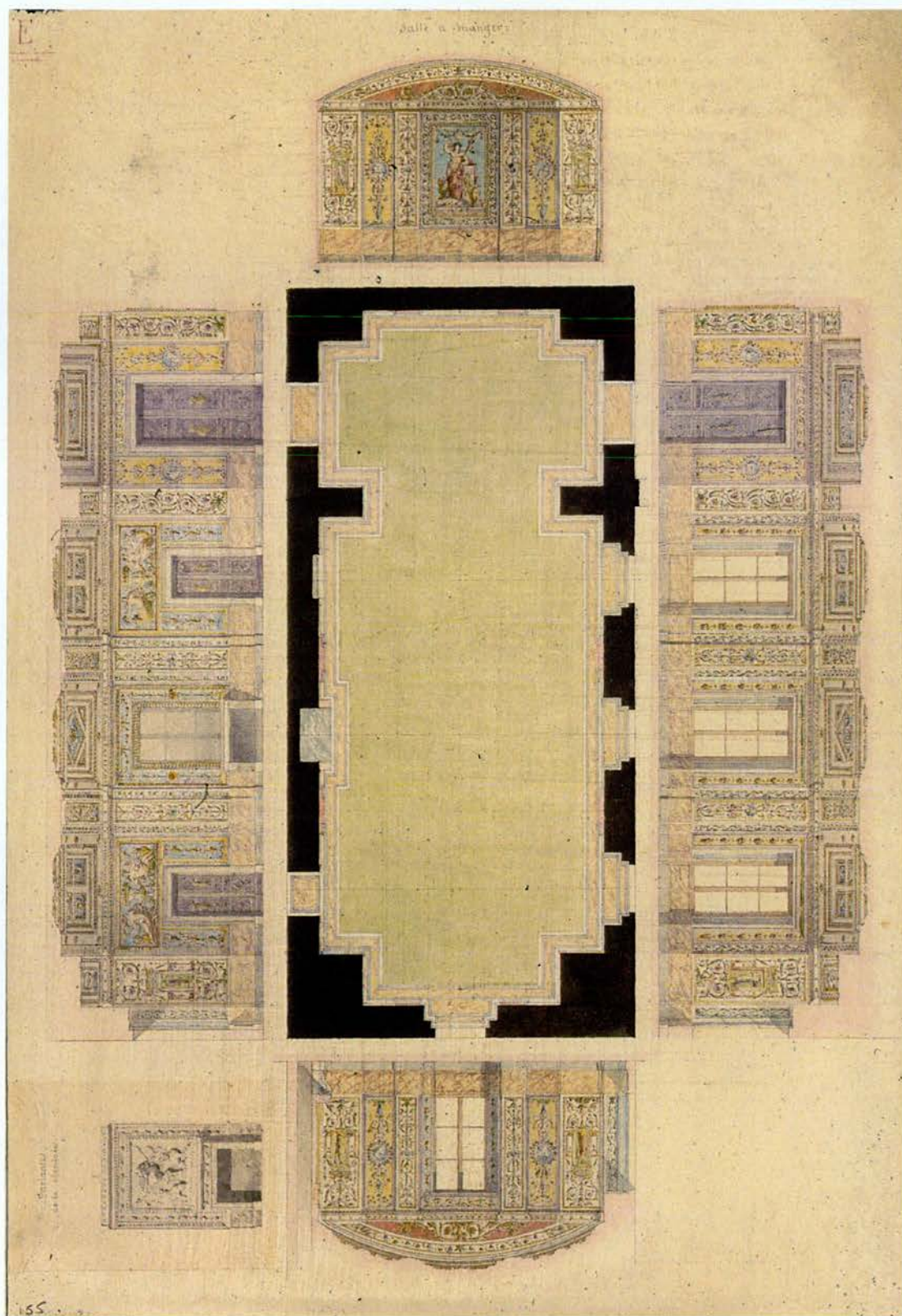
53. Attributed to Francesco Saponieri, *Design for the North Front of Hamilton Palace*, c.1819. Ink and wash on paper, 43.7 x 69.5 cm. Hamilton Archive.



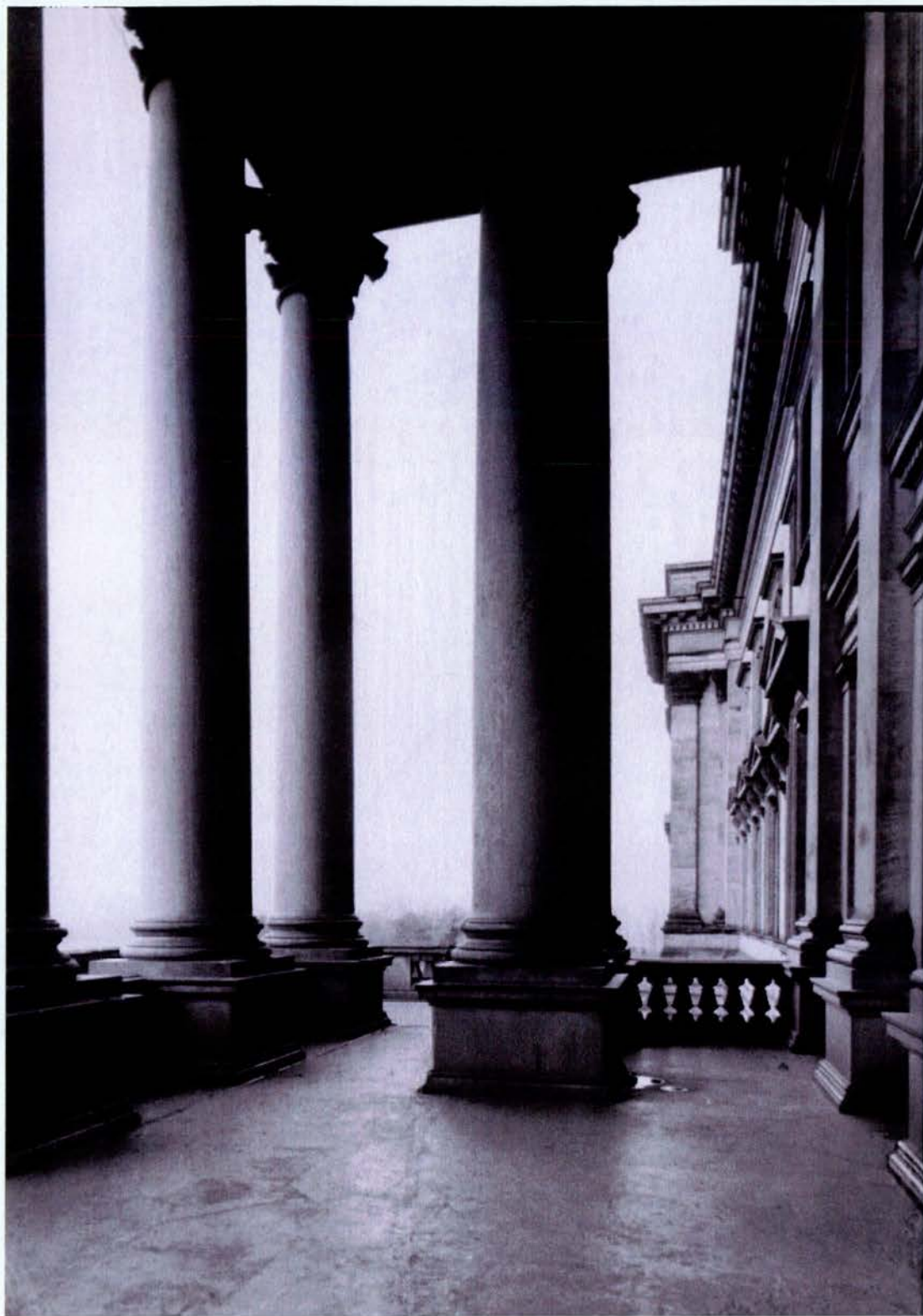
54. Charles Percier, *Design for the Grand Entrance Hall on the first floor*, probably 1827. Ink and wash on paper, 12.2 x 13.6 cm. Hamilton Archive.



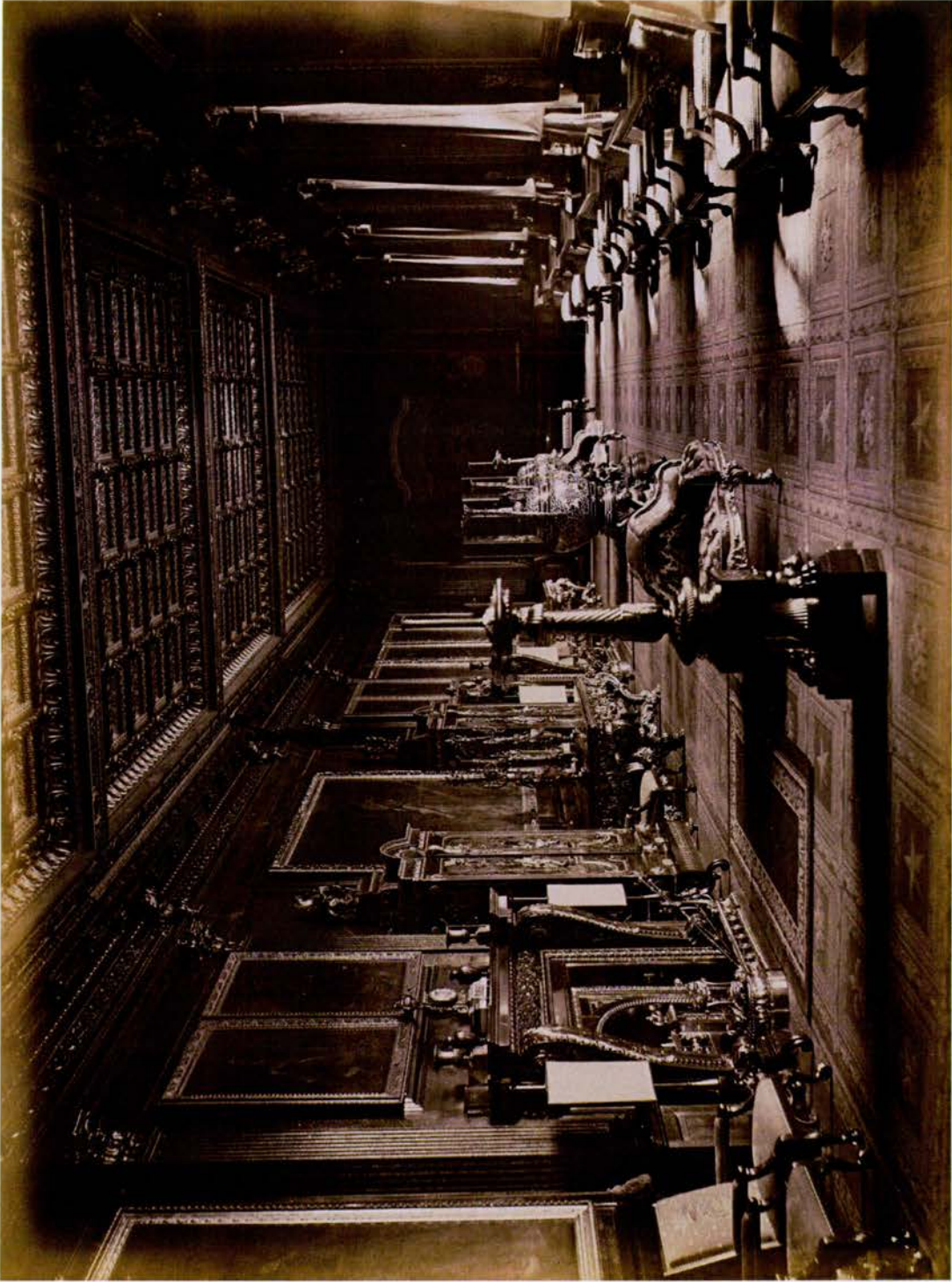
55. Charles Percier, Designs for the Tribune on the first floor, probably 1827. Ink and wash on paper, 35.6 x 48.7 cm. Hamilton Archive.



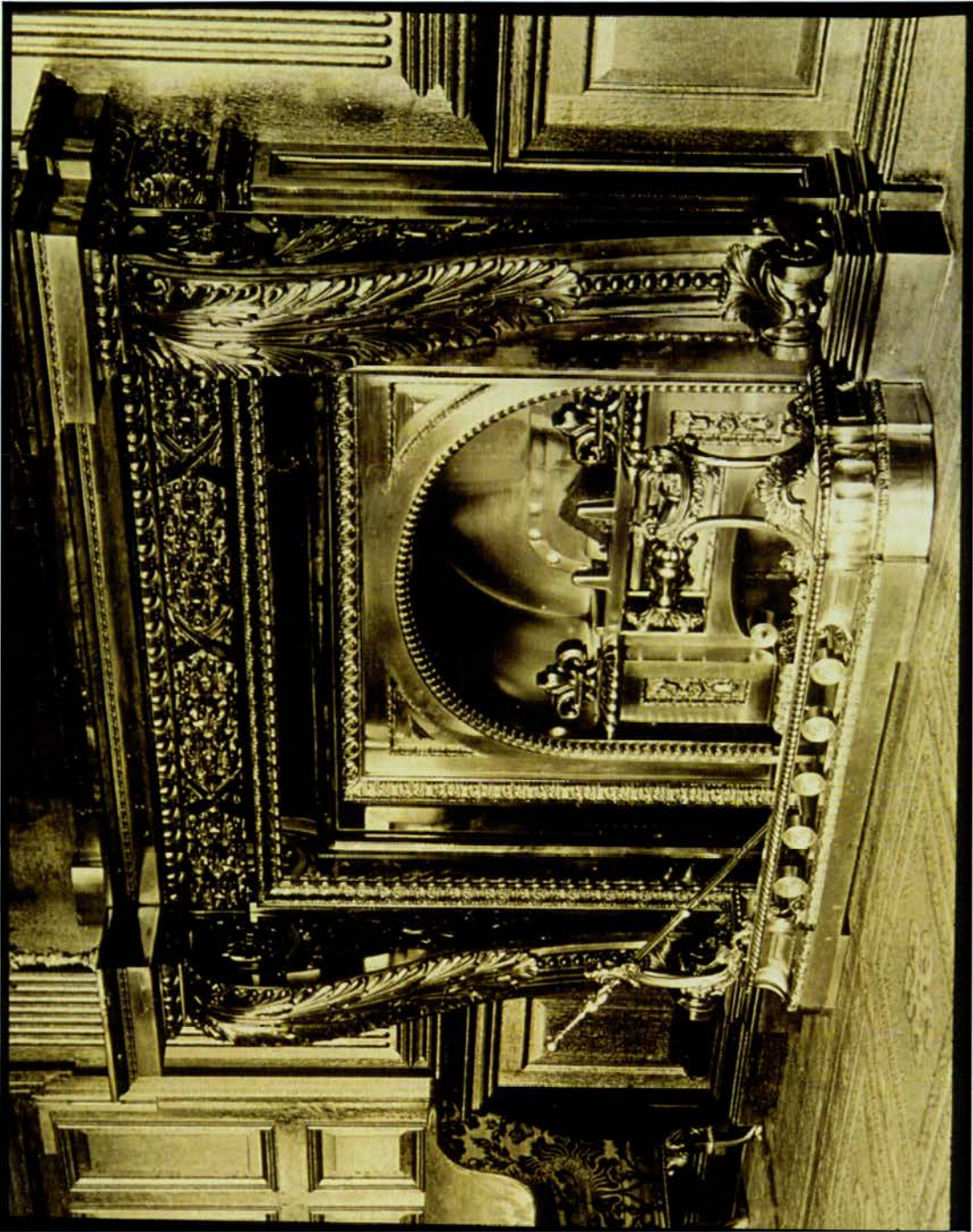
56. Charles Percier, Designs for the New Dining Room or Saloon on the first floor, probably 1827. Ink and watercolour on paper, 42.2 x 29.2 cm. Hamilton Archive.



57. Photograph of the Monolithic Columns of the Portico on the North Front, taken in 1919. *Country Life* Archive.



58. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the Long Gallery or Gallery looking east towards the Duke's ambassadorial canopy and throne. Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton. On the left are the two massive black marble chimneypieces. Between them is Rubens's painting of *Daniel in the Lions' Den* (now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington) flanked by the two *armoires* by Boulle (now in the Louvre).



59. Photograph of one of the two massive Black Marble Chimneypieces in the Gallery, supplied by David Hamilton and Son and installed in 1830. *Country Life* photograph in the French and Company Archive in the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Both chimneypieces were given to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, by the Hearst Foundation in 1956, but were de-accessioned in 1970.



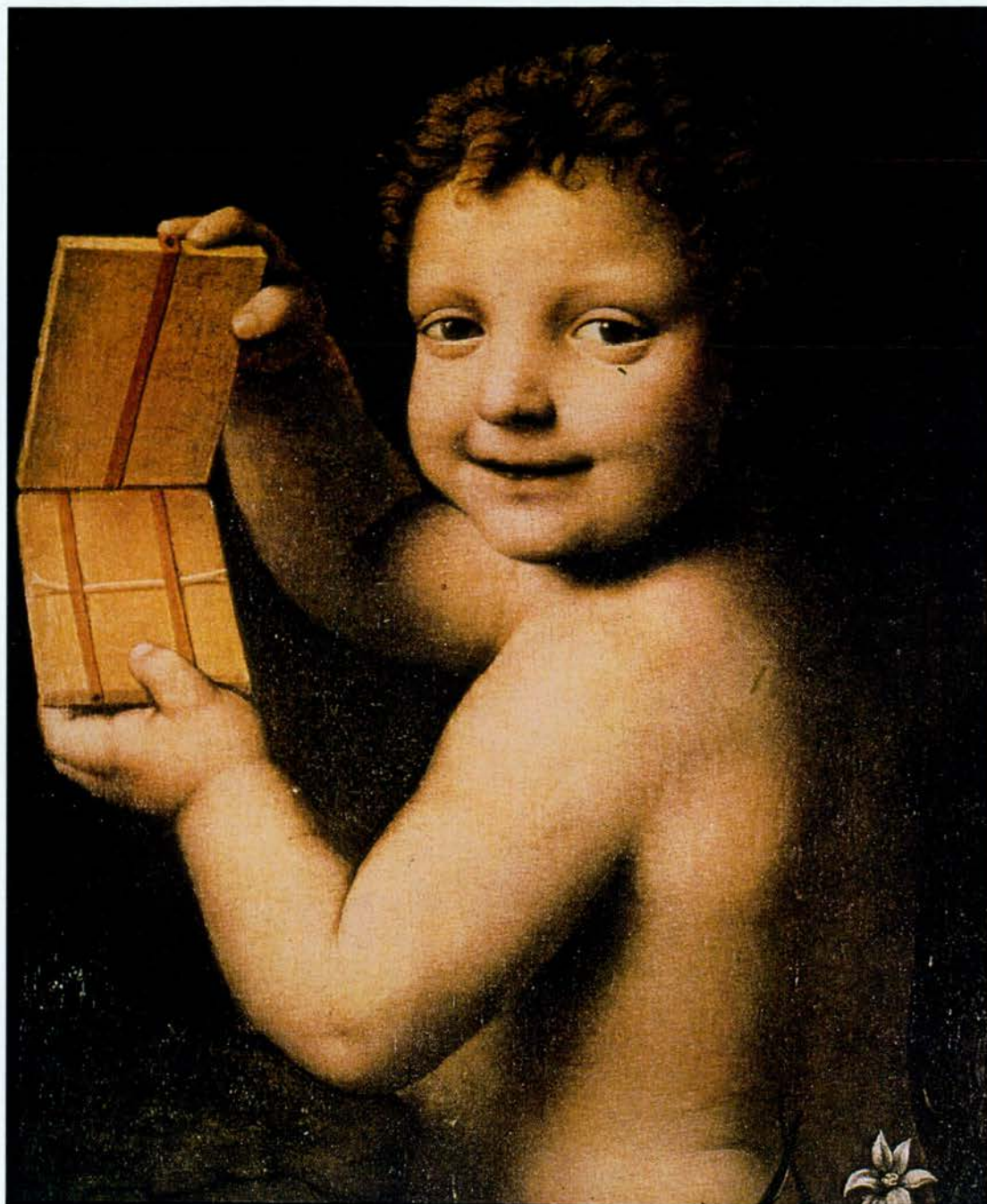
60. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the Hamilton Library. Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton. The *bureau plat* and *cartonnier* of the duc de Choiseul are at the back. To the left are the *pietre dure* cabinets acquired from the 1832 George Watson Taylor sale and the Sèvres table presented to Princess Marie of Baden by the Empress Eugénie in 1853-54.



61. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the New Dining Room or Saloon. Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton. The bust of the *Aphrodite of Cnidus* from the Braschi Palace (now in the British Museum) is on the right. At the back, in an alcove to the left of the entrance, is the Farnese Table (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). The sculpture on the Farnese Table is the large bronze cast of the *Laocoon* by Crozatier from the 1848 Stowe sale.



62. André-Charles Boulle, One of a Pair of *Armoires* or Wardrobes, c.1710. Oak with ebony veneer, *première partie* marquetry in brass and tortoiseshell, and gilt-bronze mounts, 286.7 x 152.5 x 59 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



63. Attributed to Bernardino Luini, *Boy with a Puzzle* (formerly called *The Laughing Boy* and ascribed to Leonardo). Oil on wood, 43 x 34 cm. Elton Hall, near Peterborough.



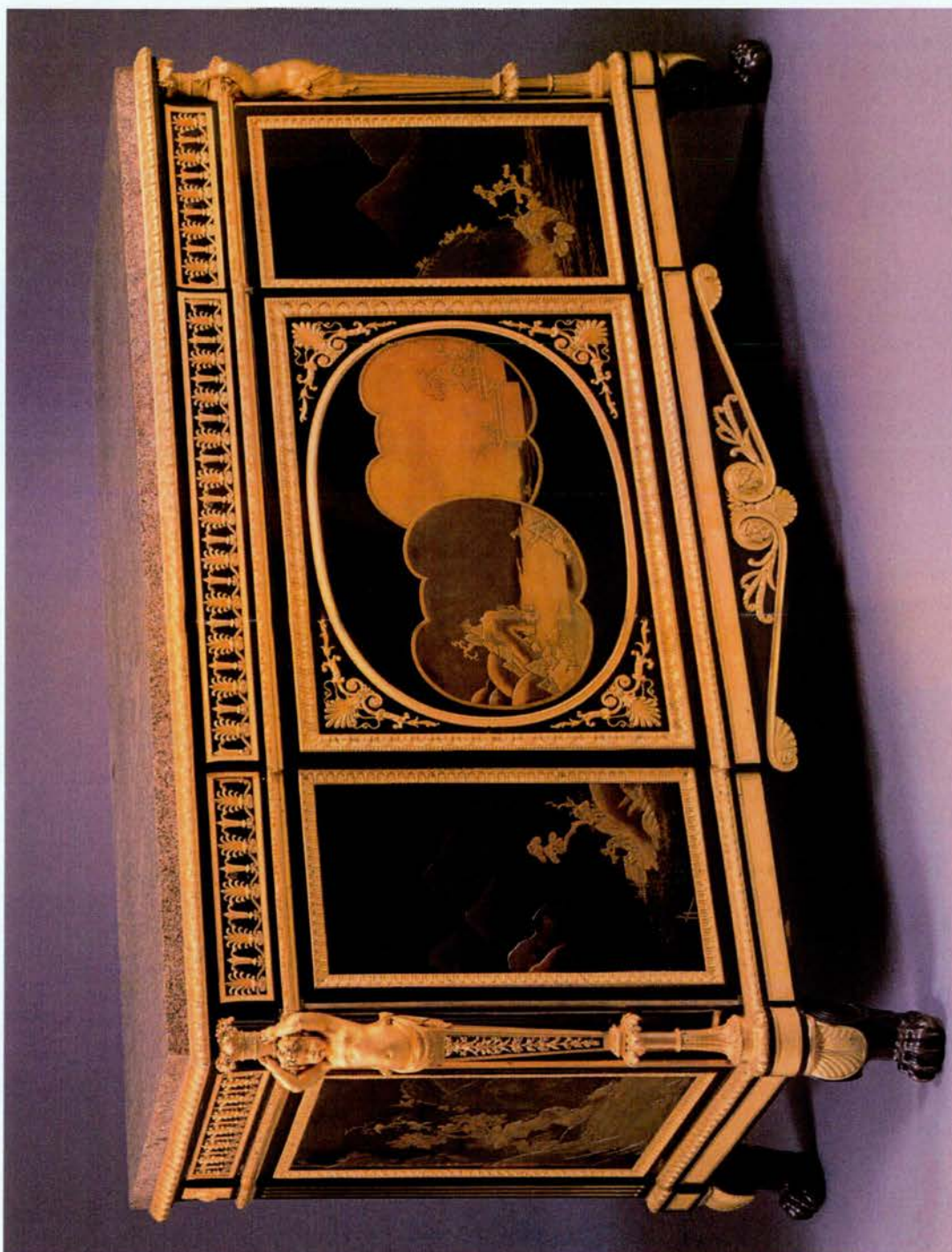
64. Carlo Bononi, *Sibyl* (formerly called the *Libyan Sybil* and ascribed to Lodovico Carracci), c.1610-12. Oil on canvas, 125 x 290 cm. Cavallini-Sgarbi Fondazione, Ferrara.



65. Unknown Japanese Maker, The Mazarin Chest, c.1635-40. Wood, gold and silver *hiramakie* and *takamakie*, with gold, silver and mother-of-pearl on a black lacquer ground, and metal mounts, 56.5 x 100.3 x 63.5 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



66. Attributed to Adam Weisweiler, Fall-front Secrétaire, late 1790s? Wood decorated with panels of Japanese lacquer, ebony veneers and gilt-bronze mounts, 139 x 92.7 x 43.2 cm. Sold Sotheby's New York, 5 December 1991.



67. Attributed to Adam Weisweiler, Commode, late 1790s? Wood decorated with panels of Japanese lacquer, ebony veneers and gilt-bronze mounts, 97.8 x 161 x 67.3 cm. Sold Sotheby's New York, 5 December 1991.



68. Benjamin and Louis Vulliamy, One of a Pair of Cabinets on Stands made for William Beckford, c.1803. Mahogany, Japanese lacquer, ebony, gilt-bronze mounts, and marble, 147 x 66.5 x 45 cm. Elton Hall, near Peterborough.



69. Unknown French Maker, Chandelier with eight arms, c.1720. Gilt bronze, 110.5 x 97 x 97 cm. Sold Christie's Monaco at Monte Carlo, 5 December 1992. Although related to chandeliers associated with André-Charles Boulle, and of very high quality, this is not obviously after a design by Boulle. It is, however, possible that it is a product of the Boulle workshop involving another designer.

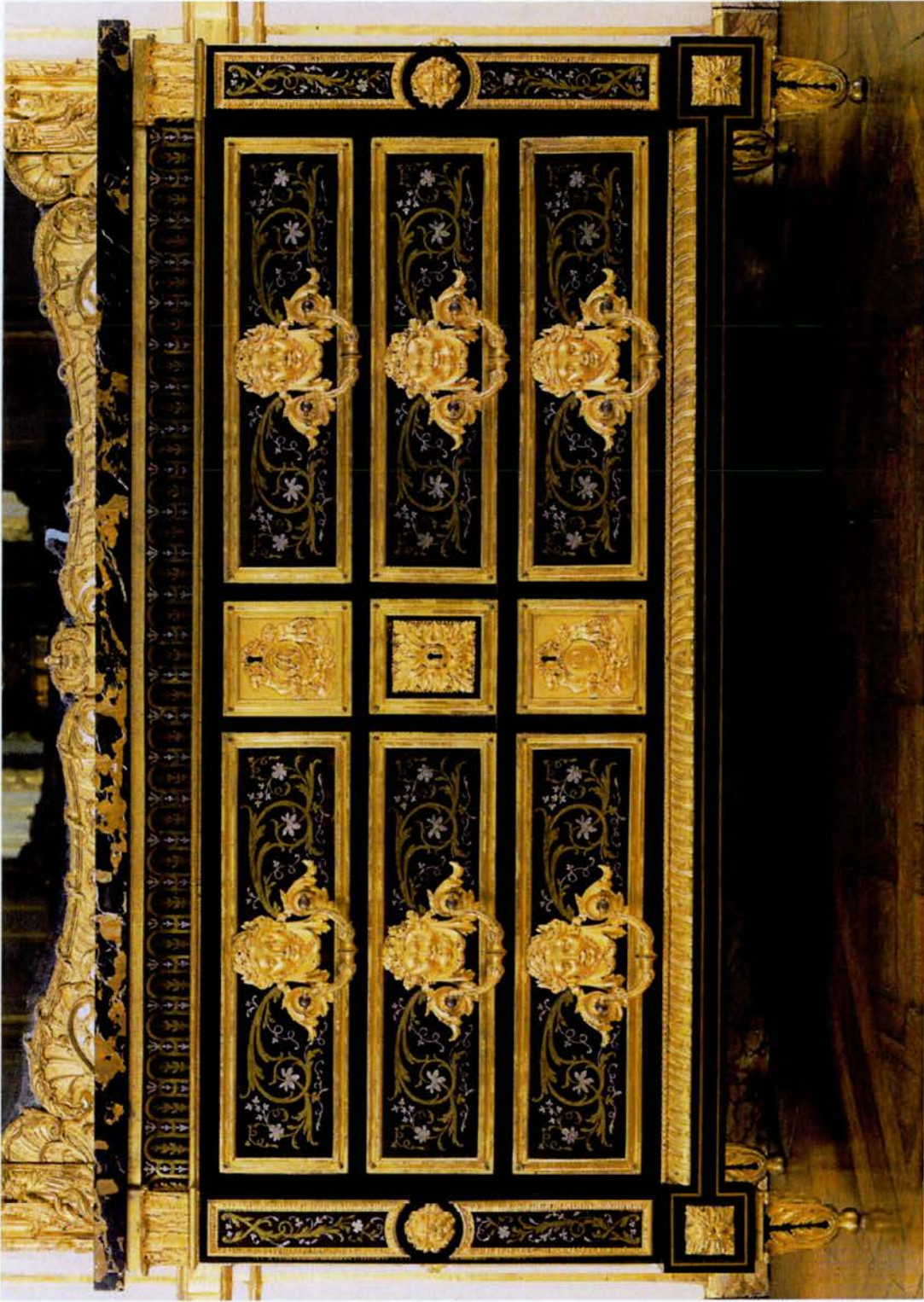


70. Digitally manipulated photomontage of two illustrations in Christie's catalogue of the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale of the *bureau plat* and *cartonnier* of the duc de Choiseul (lot 878). Both pieces are now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly, and are attributed to Simon Oeben.



71. Attributed to André-Charles Boulle, Pair of Pedestal Cabinets, c.1700, with later gilt-bronze mounts on the bases and incurved top sections added after 1827. Wood with ebony veneer, *première partie* marquetry in brass and tortoiseshell, and gilt-bronze mounts, 126 and 125.5 cm high x 53 x 51 cm. Sold Sotheby's New York, 21 May 1996.

The *contrepartie* pair, which lack the mounts on the bases and the incurved top sections, and were never in the Hamilton Collection, are now in the Getty Museum and measure 121.2 x 55.5 x 55.5 cm.



72. Etienne Levasseur, Commode believed to have been delivered for the Bedchamber of the comte d'Artois at the Temple Palace in Paris in 1777. Wood with ebony veneer and *première partie* marquetry in brass and pewter on tortoiseshell, gilt-bronze mounts, and portor marble top; 99.5 x 164.2 x 64.7 cm. Château de Versailles.

The commode had a malachite top during its time in Hamilton Palace.



73. Charles Cressent, Commode, c.1730. Oak and pine, with drawers of pine and walnut, veneered with mahogany and purplewood, gilt-bronze mounts and Brèche d'Aleps marble top, 91.1 x 158.1 x 66 cm. Waddesdon Manor, near Aylesbury.



74. Italian, Head of a Lion, early nineteenth century? Variegated banded marble, mounted on painted wood, 38.1 x 26.3 x 25 cm. National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh.



75. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the Sitting Room in the New Tapestry Rooms. Glasgow University Library.

The photograph shows the east and south walls. It includes two of the Duke's Ottoboni tapestries, one of the "Louis XIV" armorial carpets commissioned from Sallandrouze de Lamornaix's factory at Aubusson, and the *canapé à confidents* by Blanchard and Rascalon (Fig.136) against the south wall. On the other side of the doors was the New State Bedroom.



76. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the Sitting Room in the New Tapestry Rooms. Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton.

Annan's photograph shows the south and west walls, the entrance (with the black marble staircase to the left), and the view through into the (first-floor) Grand Entrance Hall. The Ottoboni tapestry of *Erminia and the Shepherd* (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) is on the entrance or west wall, above the Clock Cabinet (Fig.44) produced by Robert Hume between 1820 and 1824 (now in the Gilbert Collection, London). On the cabinet are the two maiolica vases decorated with the arms of the Medici from the Beckford collection.



Italy. 'Armida, from Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*. Signed 'Nouzeu' with
date 1735. ITALIAN (Rome), (Lafal workshop), dated 1735.
H. 10 ft 6 in. W. 21 ft.

105

Sold Sotheby's, 29 Apr. 1960 (C. John, £1,500)

77. San Michele Manufactory, Rome, *Armida prepares to go to the Crusaders' Camp*, signed "Nouzou" (probably Nouzon) and dated 1735. Wool and silk, approximately 320 x 670 cm. Sold Sotheby's London, 29 April 1960, lot 105.



78. Martin-Guillaume Biennais, The Tea Service of the Emperor Napoleon supplied in connection with his marriage to Marie-Louise of Austria in 1810. Silver-gilt, glass and other materials, in two leather chests; the hot water urn by Antoine Boulhier is 80 cm. high by 40 cm. wide. Musée du Louvre, Paris (chest one) and National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh (chest two). Only a selection of the flatware acquired by the 10th Duke of Hamilton is included in the illustration.



79. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the Grand Entrance Hall on the first floor. Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton.

Annan's photograph shows three of the five bronze copies of Classical statues which were purchased by the 10th Duke in 1831 and displayed in the Grand Entrance Hall: the *Belvedere Antinous*, *Borghese Gladiator* and *Diana of Versailles*. The black marble base of one of the other statues is on the extreme right. In the niches are two of the four faience busts of the *Seasons* made at Nicolas Fouquay's factory at Rouen before 1742, which were bought from the Parisian dealer Evans at the end of January 1852, along with a matching bust of *Apollo*, for 7,000 francs. They appear to have acquired by the 11th Duke. The 11th Duke donated *Apollo* to the South Kensington Museum in 1857, while the busts of the *Seasons* were included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale and secured by the Louvre.



80. Illustration of the *lit à la duchesse* in the New State Bed Room, published in Christie's catalogue of the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 1912), with one of the Boulle pedestal cabinets from the Bonnemaïson estate visible on the left.

The bed is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. It was conserved in 2006-7 and is displayed in the refurbished Wrightsman Galleries with new hangings and upholstery. The headboard is 200.7 x 186.7 cm. and the bed frame 220.4 cm. deep. The tester is 221.6 cm. deep x 181.6 cm. wide, with a dome 43.2 cm. high.



81. Jean-Henri Riesener, Fall-front Secrétaire, probably made about 1783 and remodelled about 1790, signed and dated 1790. Oak veneered with panels of marquetry of various woods and panels of plain burl ash, plain bloodwood, and plain tulipwood, all bordered with amaranth; gilt-bronze mounts; top of white marble veined with grey; 143.2 x 115.5 x 43.8 cm. Frick Collection, New York.



82. Jean-Henri Riesener, Commode, probably made about 1783 and remodelled about 1791, signed and dated 1791. Oak veneered with panels of marquetry of various woods and panels of plain burl ash and plain bloodwood, all bordered with amaranth; gilt-bronze mounts; replacement marble top; 95.9 x 144.2 x 62.6 cm. Frick Collection, New York.



83. Jean-Henri Riesener, Fall-front Secrétaire made for Marie-Antoinette's *cabinet intérieur* at Versailles, 1783. Oak veneered with ebony and old Japanese lacquer, including panels of about 1660-80 (the lower doors); the interiors veneered with tulipwood, amaranth, holly, and ebonized holly; gilt-bronze mounts; replacement white marble top; 144.8 x 109.2 x 40.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



84. Jean-Henri Riesener, Commode made for Marie-Antoinette's *cabinet intérieur* at Versailles, 1783. Oak veneered with ebony and old Japanese lacquer; the interiors veneered with tulipwood, amaranth, holly, and ebonized holly; gilt-bronze mounts; replacement white marble top; 93.4 x 143.5 x 59.7 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



85. Attributed to Jean-Henri Riesener, Fall-front Secrétaire, c.1785. Oak veneered with amaranth and ebony, set with panels of old Japanese lacquer on Japanese arborvitae; interior fittings of mahogany; gilt-bronze mounts; black marble top; 155 x 112.5 x 47 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.



86. Robert Hume, One of a Pair of Cabinets supplied to George Watson Taylor, c.1820-25, and acquired by the 10th Duke of Hamilton from the Erlestoke sale in 1832. Wood decorated with seventeenth-century panels of *pietre dure*, Sienna marble columns, lapis lazuli, Sicilian jasper and agate, gilt-bronze mounts, and *rosso antico* marble top; 108 x 170 x 56 cm. This cabinet was in the Gerstenfeld Collection from 1990 to 2000; the other is on loan from Brooklyn Museum to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



87. Illustration of the "Bust of the Emperor Augustus, of antique Egyptian porphyry, with gilt metal ornaments" published in Christie's catalogue of the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 191). Now identified as an acquisition from the sale of George Watson Taylor's collection at Erlestoke Mansion, near Devizes, in 1832.



88. Illustration of the "Bust of the Emperor Tiberius, of antique Egyptian porphyry, with gilt metal ornaments" published in Christie's catalogue of the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 192). Now identified as an acquisition from the sale of George Watson Taylor's collection at Erlestoke Mansion, near Devizes, in 1832.



89. Jean-Henri Riesener, Writing Table, c.1780-85. Oak, with subsidiary drawer of mahogany, veneered with purplewood; marquetry of mahogany, satinwood, boxwood, ebony, sycamore and other woods; gilt-bronze mounts; 73.3 x 59 x 41.9 cm. Waddesdon Manor, near Aylesbury.



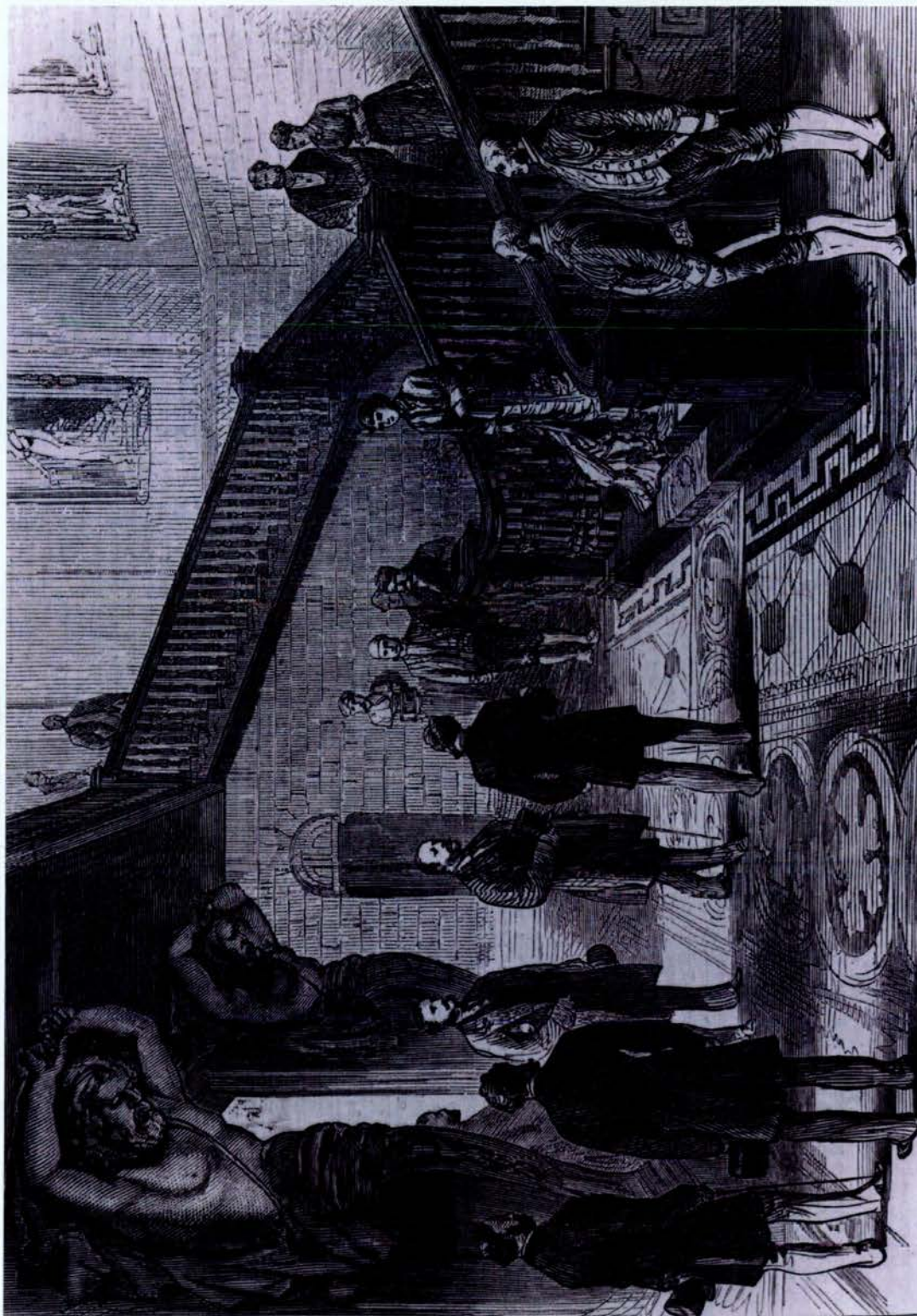
90. Jean-Henri Riesener, Fall-front Secrétaire commissioned for Louis XVI's private study in the Petit Trianon, 1777. Oak veneered with purplewood, tulipwood and mahogany; marquetry of sycamore, boxwood, holly, ebony, casuarina wood, burr and other woods; gilt-bronze mounts; and white marble top; 142.1 x 113.5 x 48.1 cm. Waddesdon Manor, near Aylesbury.



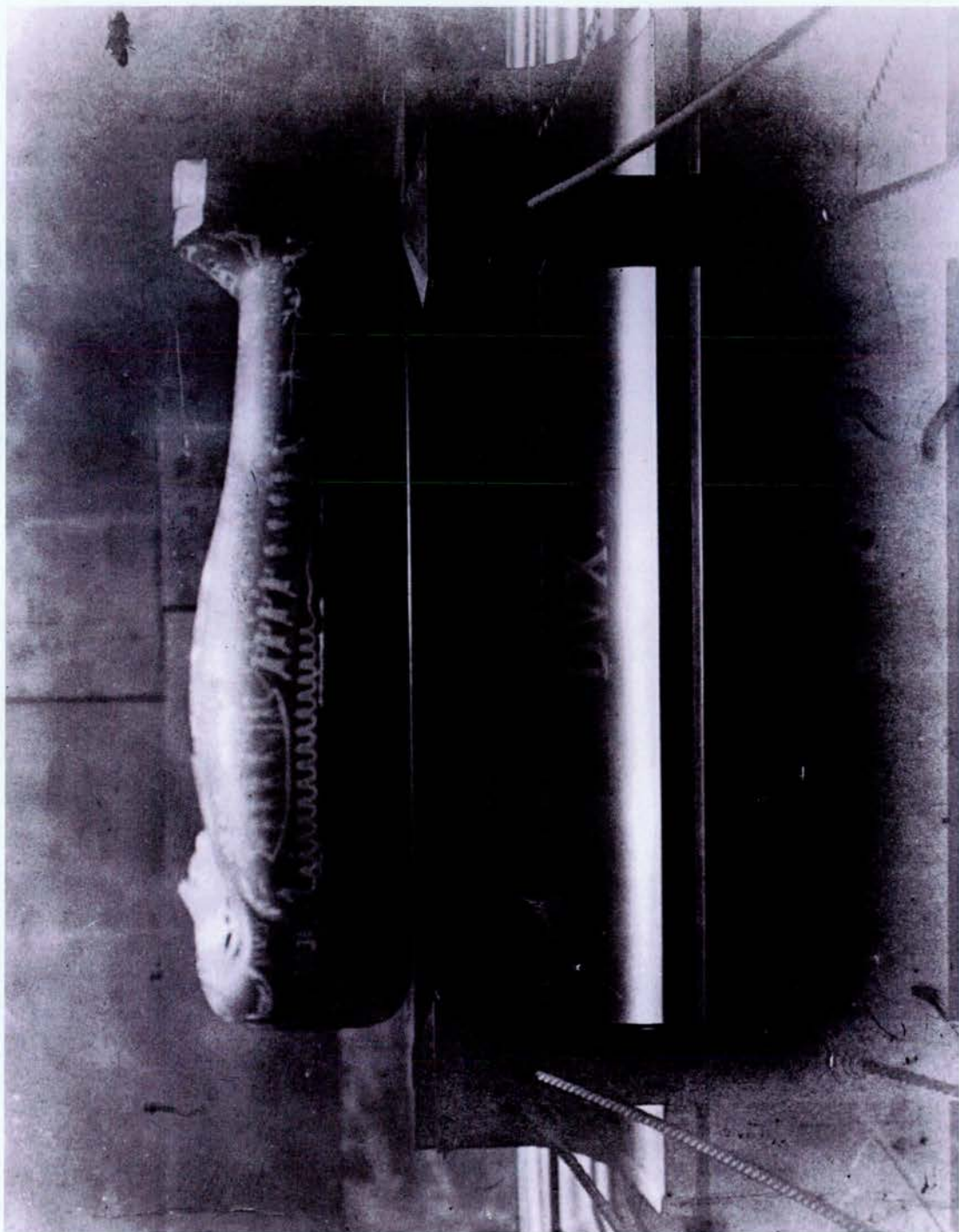
91. Unknown French Maker, *Bust of the Emperor Augustus*. Partly gilt bronze, 68.8 cm. high. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle. Purchased by Lord Yarmouth in Paris for the Prince Regent in 1818.



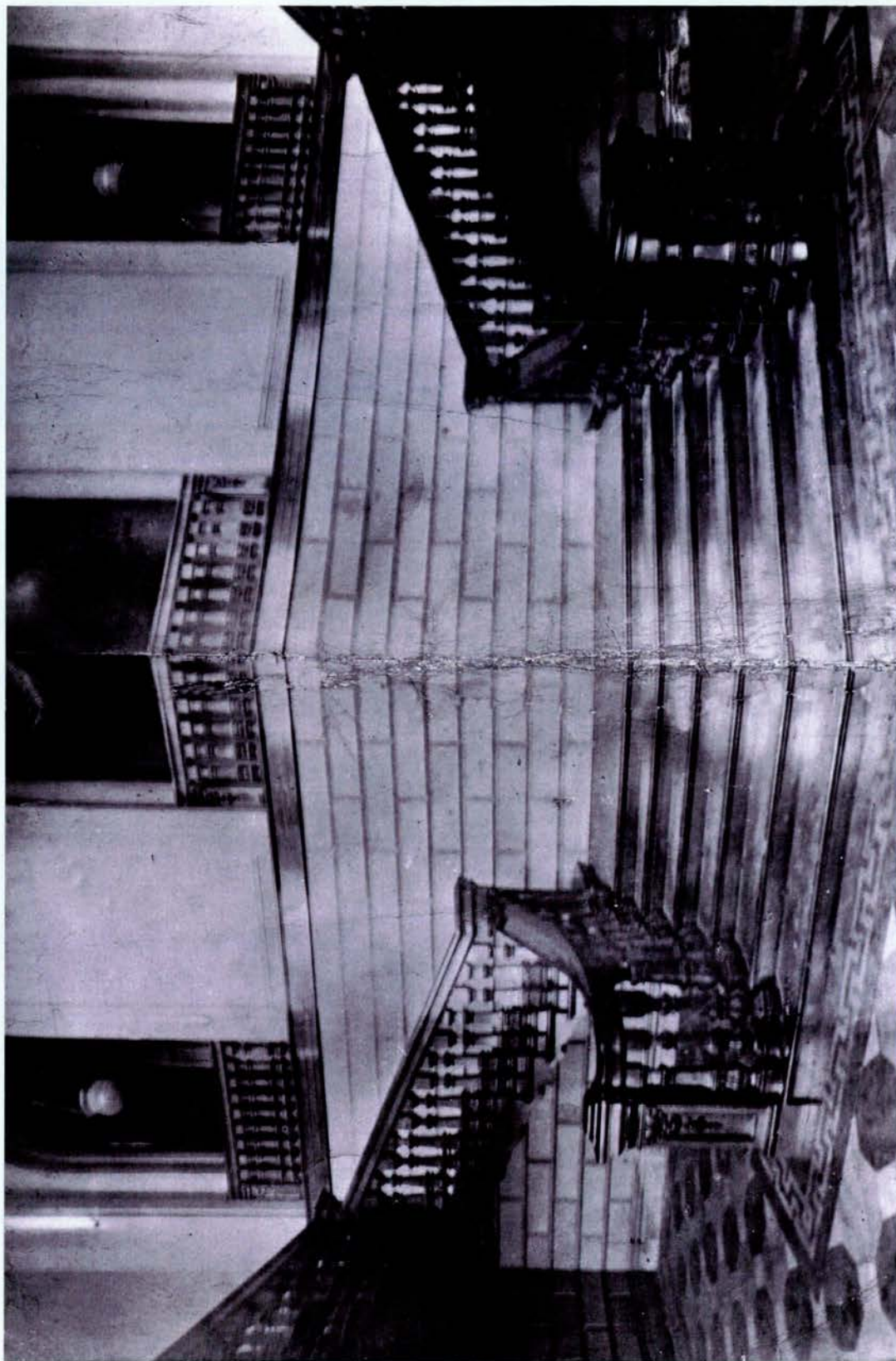
92. Unknown French Maker, *Bust of the Emperor Vespasian*. Partly gilt bronze, 69.8 cm. high. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle.
Purchased by Lord Yarmouth in Paris for the Prince Regent in 1818.



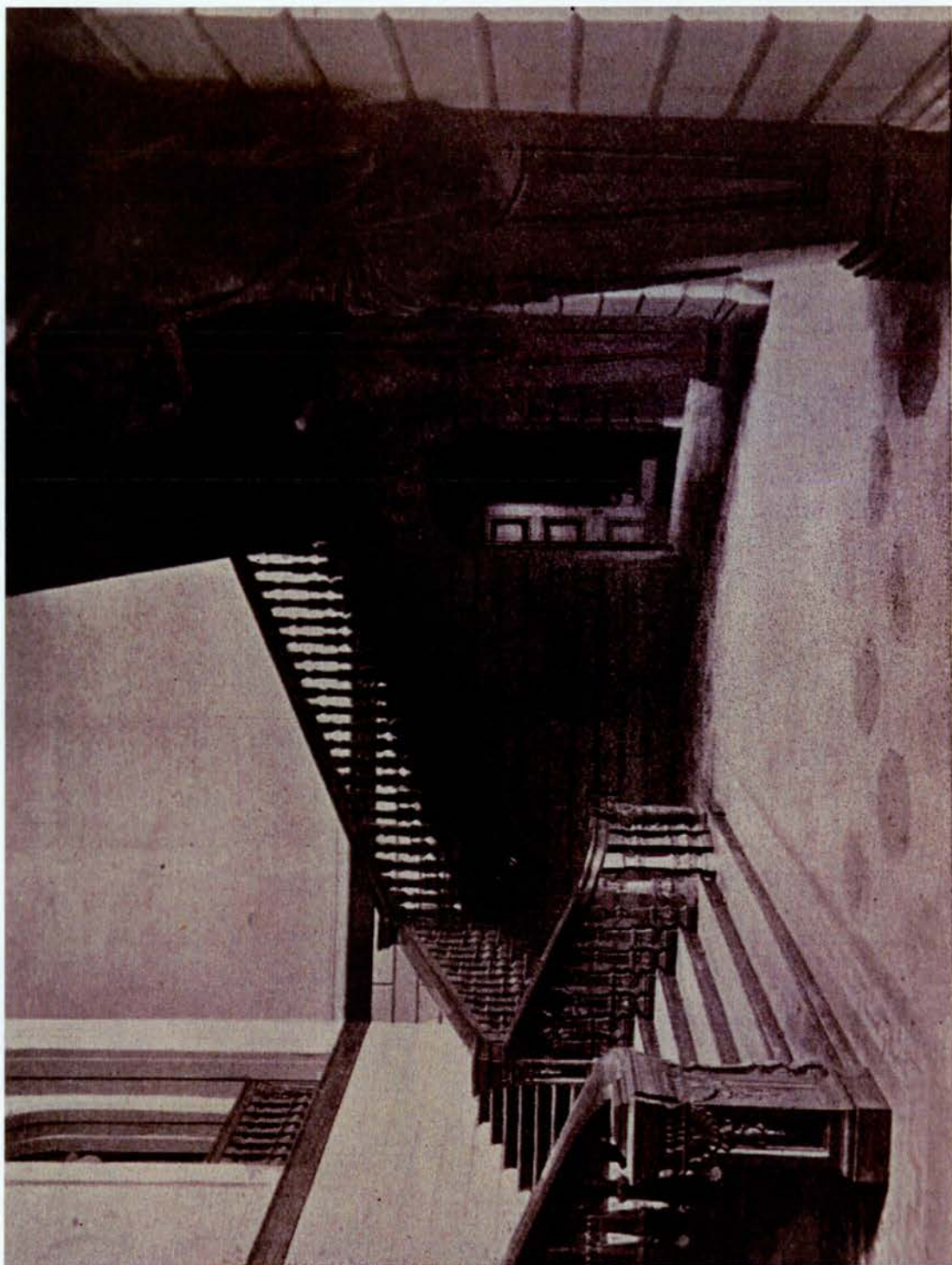
93. Illustration showing Soyer's Atlantes "supporting" the Passageway above the Black Marble Staircase. The subject of the illustration, from the *Illustrated London News* of 19 January 1878, is actually the Prince of Wales entering Hamilton Palace a few days earlier.



94. Photograph of the Egyptian Sarcophagus containing the body of the 10th Duke of Hamilton in the chapel of the Hamilton Mausoleum. From a copy owned by South Lanarkshire Museums.



95. Damaged Photograph of the Lower Sections of the Black Marble Staircase by the London Marble and Stone Company. Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.



96. Photograph of the Black Marble Staircase, including Soyer's Atlantes. Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. The lack of portraits, sculpture and furniture indicate that this photograph was taken after the palace was cleared in 1919-20.

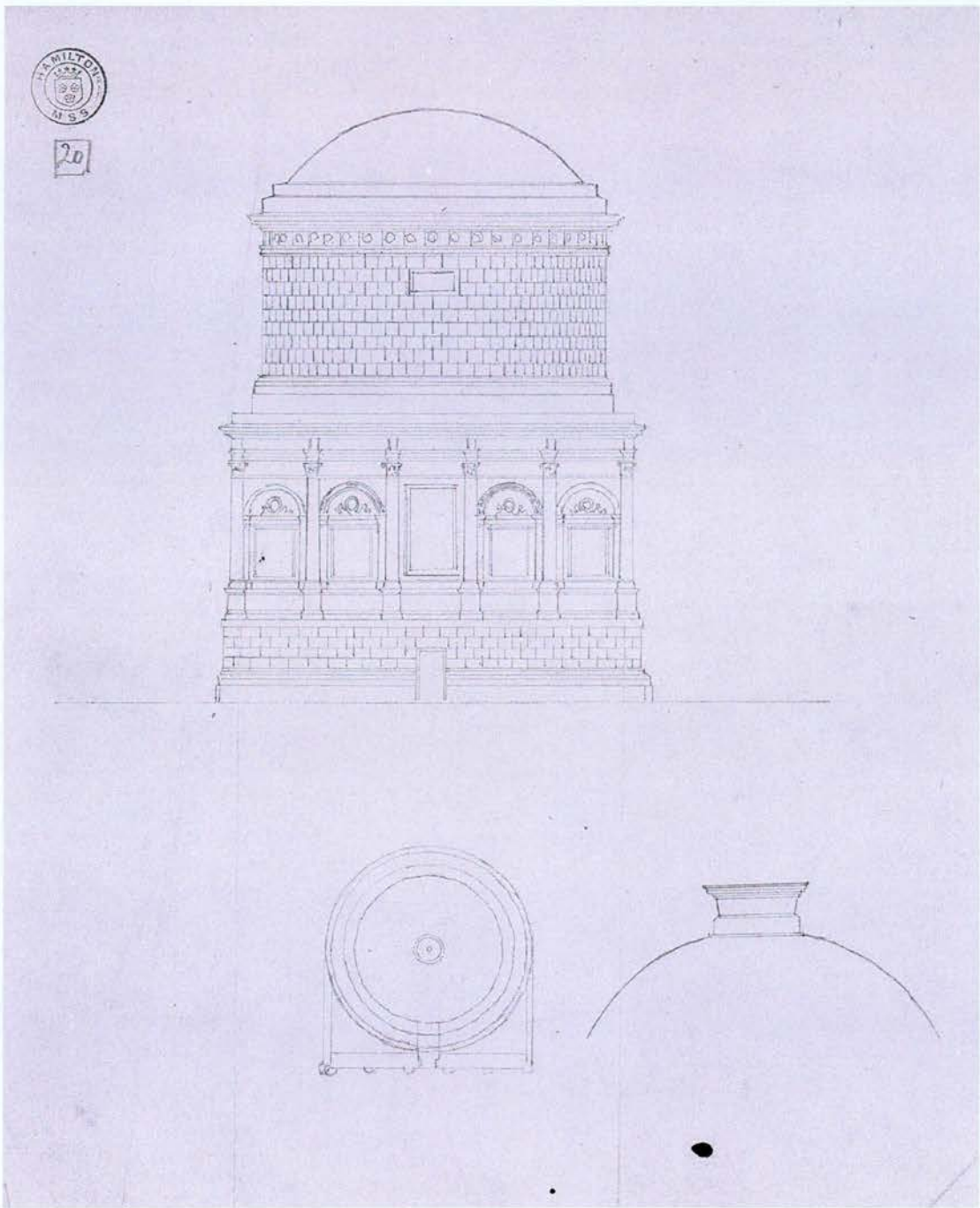


97. Photograph of the Black Marble Staircase taken by *Country Life* in 1919. *Country Life* Archive. The photograph shows the basalt bust of *Vespasian* on the landing and the porphyry bust of *Augustus* under the stairs. Hanging above the stairs is the copy of Winterhalter's portrait of the *Empress Eugénie* by Jouy, acquired from the estate of the Grand Duchess Stéphanie of Baden in 1860.



A PURCHASE AT "THE PALACE" SALE. — Ex-Bailie Graham with the giant bronze bust of Alexander Douglas Hamilton (the tenth Duke and founder of the palace), by Thomas Campbell, 1839.—"Advertiser" photograph.

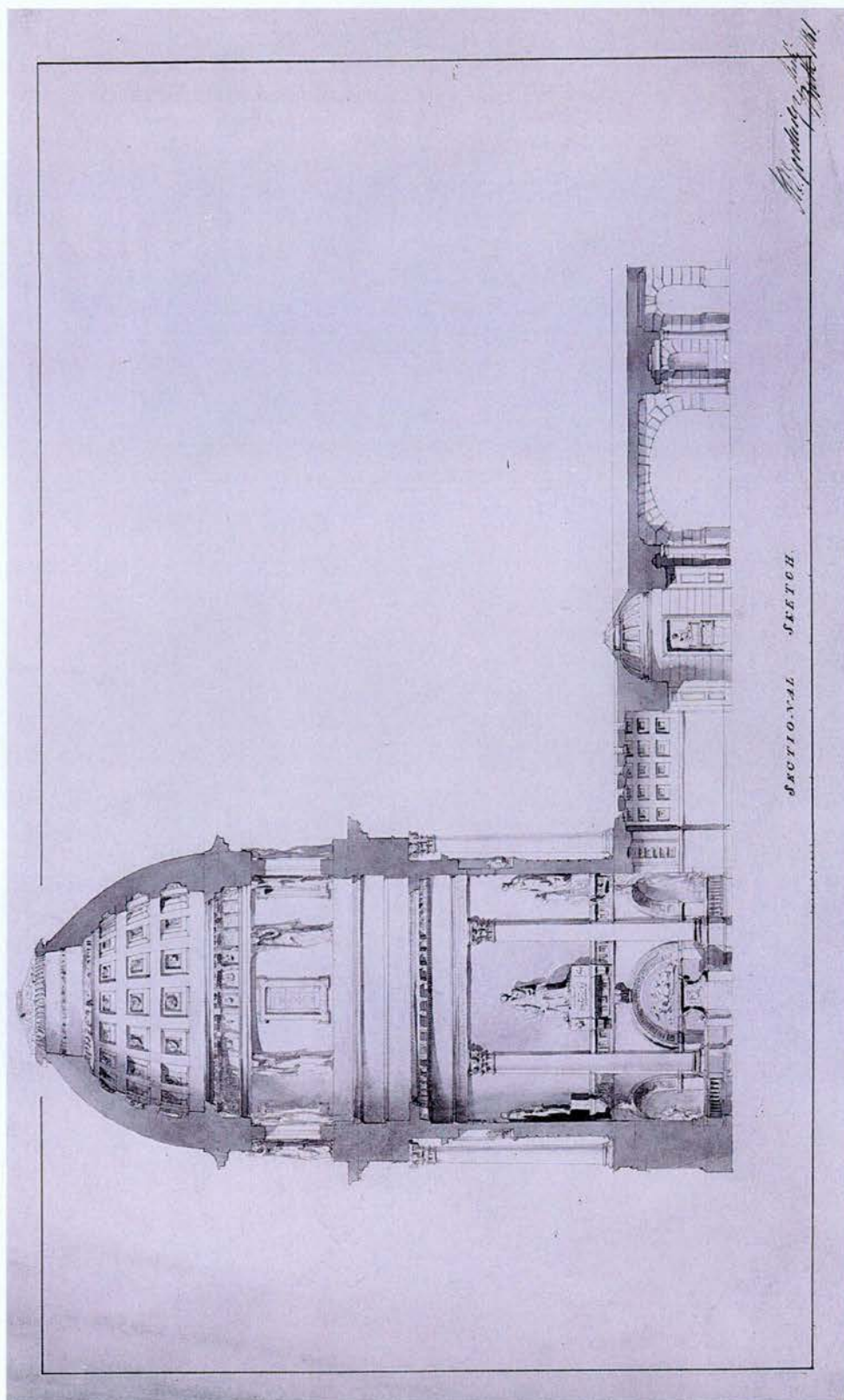
98. The Colossal Bronze Bust of Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton, by Thomas Campbell, modelled in 1839, cast in bronze in 1846 and finished in 1847. The photograph, from the *Hamilton Advertiser* of 18 February 1933, shows the bust after it was sold to former Bailie John M. Graham of Hamilton four days earlier.



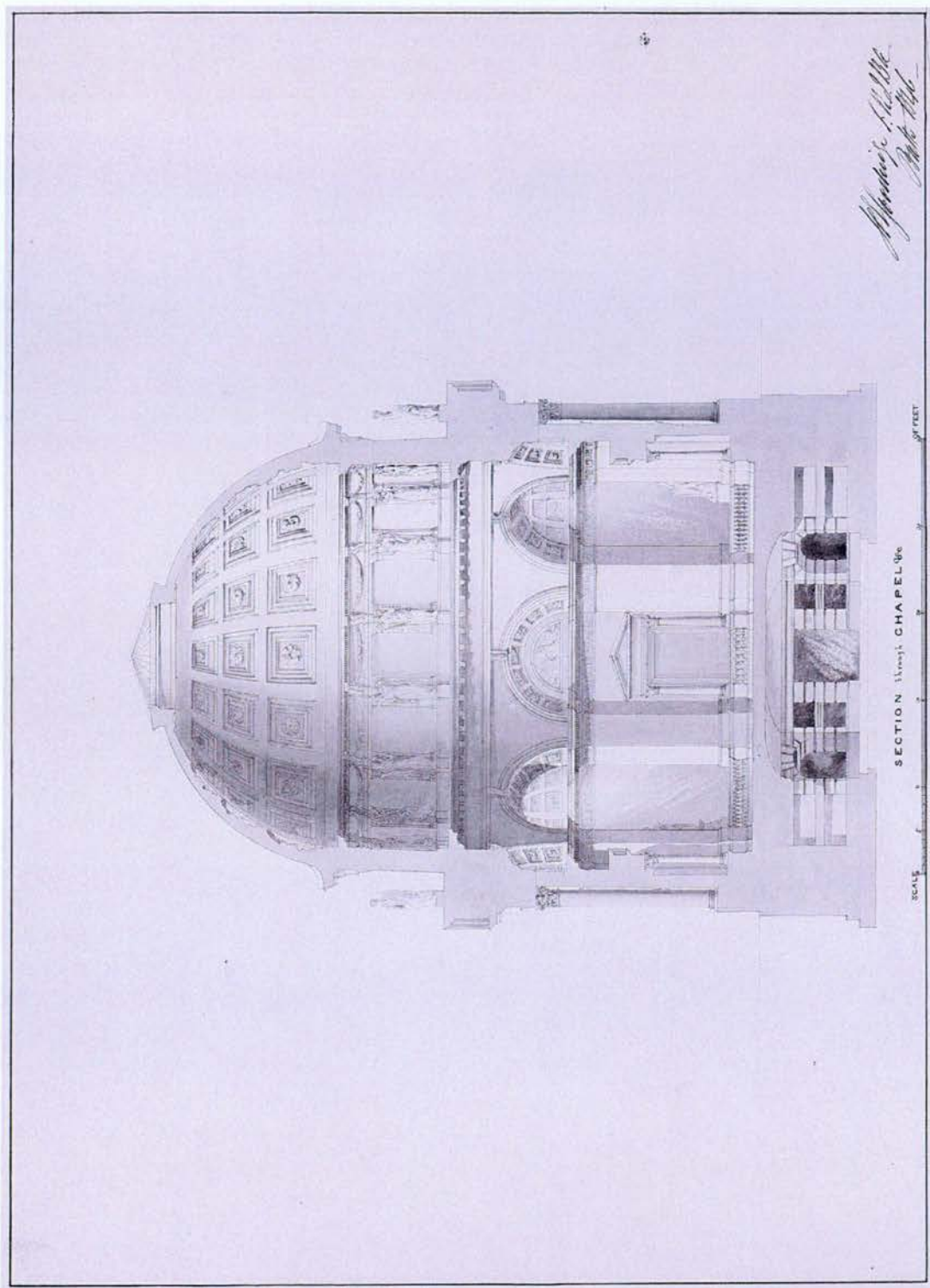
99. Attributed to David Hamilton, Design for the Hamilton Mausoleum, c.1841. Hamilton Archive. Photograph courtesy of RCAHMS.



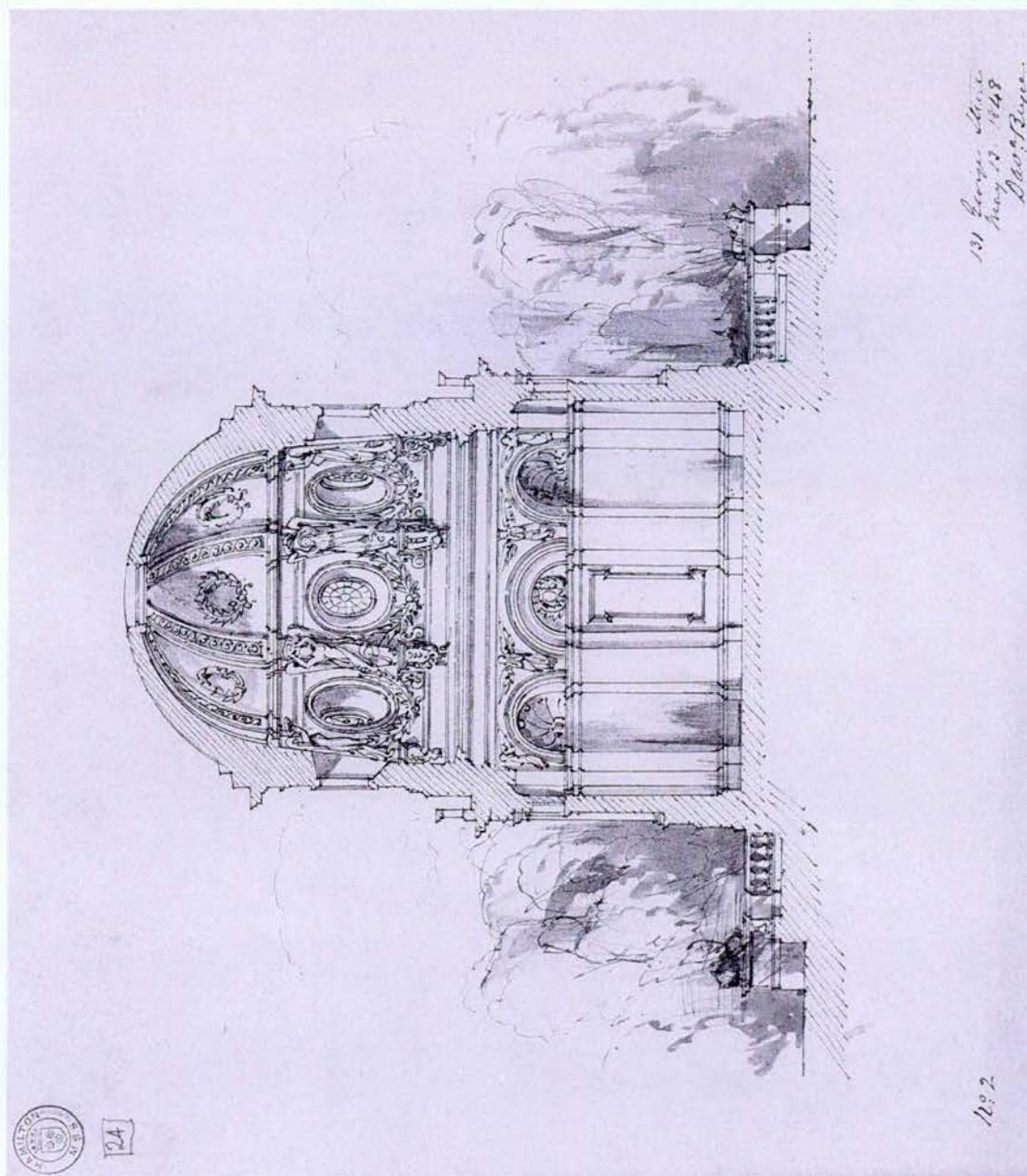
100. Detail of an unsigned watercolour of H.E. Goodridge's proposed design for the Hamilton Mausoleum (left) and a new grand staircase for Hamilton Palace (right), showing the Mausoleum. National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh. The watercolour is directly related to drawings by Goodridge in the Hamilton Archive and RIBA Library, some signed and dated 1841, and to a watercolour at Lennoxlove, signed and dated 1841 or 1842. It seems likely that the watercolour paintings are linked to Goodridge's entry, "Alterations to Hamilton Palace", at the 1842 Royal Academy Exhibition (1036).



101. Henry Edmund Goodridge, Design for the Interior of the Hamilton Mausoleum, signed and dated Bath 1841. Hamilton Archive. Photograph courtesy of RCAHMS.



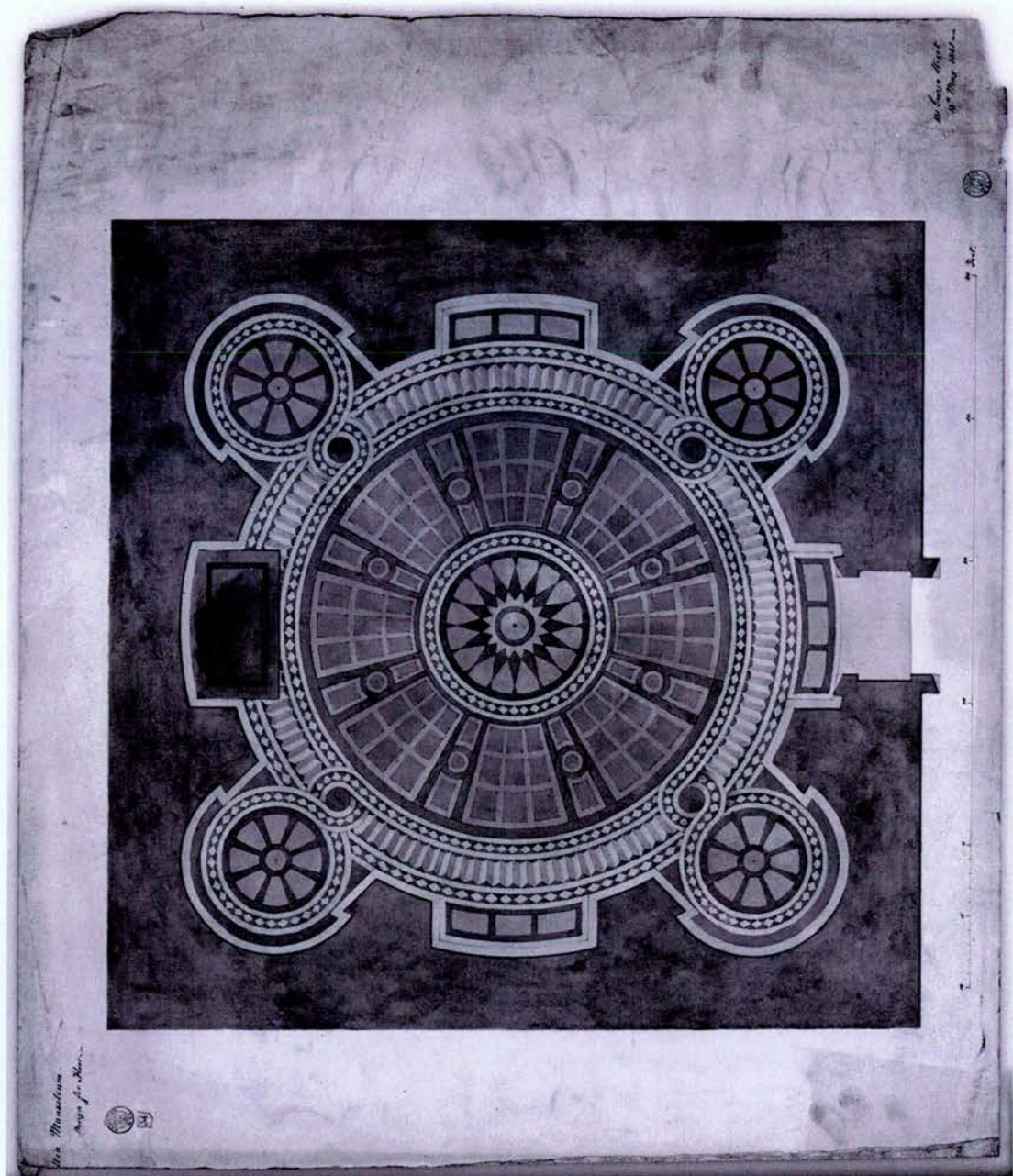
102. Henry Edmund Goodridge, Design for the Interior of the Hamilton Mausoleum, signed and dated Bath 1846. Hamilton Archive. Photograph courtesy of RCAHMS.



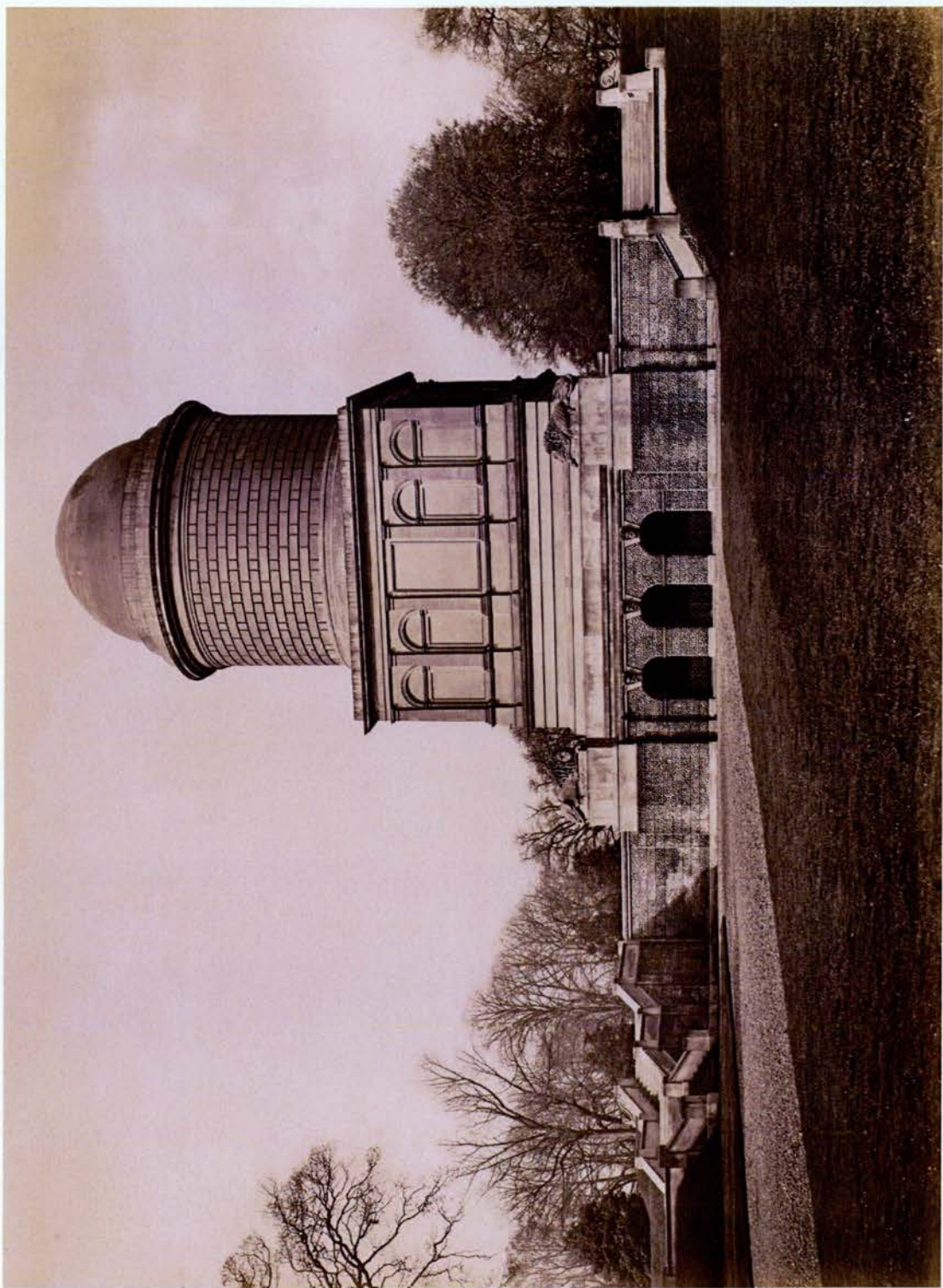
103. David Bryce, Design for the Interior of the Hamilton Mausoleum, signed and dated 13 May 1848. Hamilton Archive. Photograph courtesy of RCAHMS.



104. The West or Entrance Side of Hamilton Mausoleum.



105. David Bryce, Design for the Stone Floor of the Chapel of Hamilton Mausoleum, dated 13 May 1851. Hamilton Archive. Photograph courtesy of RCAHMS.



106. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the Hamilton Mausoleum showing the east or back side, the entrance to the crypt, and the *Lions* by Alexander Handyside Ritchie. Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton.



107. Photograph of the Bronze Doors based on Ghiberti's *Gates of Paradise* in place on the Hamilton Mausoleum. From a copy owned by South Lanarkshire Museums.



108. Attributed to the Athenian painter Aison, *Lekythos* (perfume or oil flask), c.410-400 B.C. Ceramic, 23.5 cm. high. Found in Basilicata, South Italy. British Museum, London.

The Easterner has been identified as an Eastern satrap, the god Sabazios and the god Dionysos.



109. The Name-Piece of the Painter of London E543, *Oinoche* (wine jug), c.420-400 B.C. Ceramic, 21 x 14.3 x 14.3 cm. British Museum, London.



110. Illustration of the “Antique Bust of the Emperor Vespasian, of black basalt, with drapery of oriental alabaster[,] From Strawberry Hill”, published in Christie’s catalogue of the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 190).



111. Bertel Thorvaldsen, *Napoleon Apotheosized*, commissioned in 1829 and probably completed in the early 1830s. Marble, 105 x 67 x 46 cm. Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen.



112. Bertel Thorvaldsen, Back of the Bust of *Napoleon Apotheosized*. The aegis and eagle on the front and the palm tree on the back have been developed from a marble bust of the Emperor Hadrian which was owned by Thorvaldsen and is now in the Thorvaldsens Museum. Thorvaldsen believed this to be Antique, but it is actually an eighteenth-century forgery.



113. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the Tribune. Glasgow University Library. The New Dining Room was on the left, behind the busts, and the Hamilton Library behind the chimneypiece wall. The corridor to the Grand Entrance Hall and the entrance to the Gallery were both to the right.



114. Agnolo Bronzino and Workshop, *Eleonora of Toledo and Her Son*, c.1545-50. Oil on poplar, 121.8 x 100 cm. Detroit Institute of Arts.

The 6th hundred, Sedelmeyer Gallery, Paris, 1900.



Mentioned in Dr. Hagen's *Old Treasures*, vol. II, p. 303.
From the Coll. of the Duke of Hamilton, Hamilton Palace, 1882.

Panel. 56 x 32 3/4 in. — PIOMBO (S. del) about 1485-1547.

Portrait of Pope Clement VII.

• seated in red velvet arm-chair — red cap and cape —
greenish-brown curtain in background.

115. Annotated illustration of the "Sebastiano del Piombo" portrait of Pope Clement VII published in the Sedelmeyer Gallery's *Illustrated Catalogue of the Sixth Series of 100 Paintings by Old Masters* (Paris, 1900), showing the work before it was cut down. Witt Library, Courtauld Institute, London.



116. Giuliano Bugiardini, *Pope Clement VII*, c.1532. Oil on wood, 91.2 x 74.2 cm. Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.
Christie's photograph shows the Hamilton painting cut down and as it was in 1993.



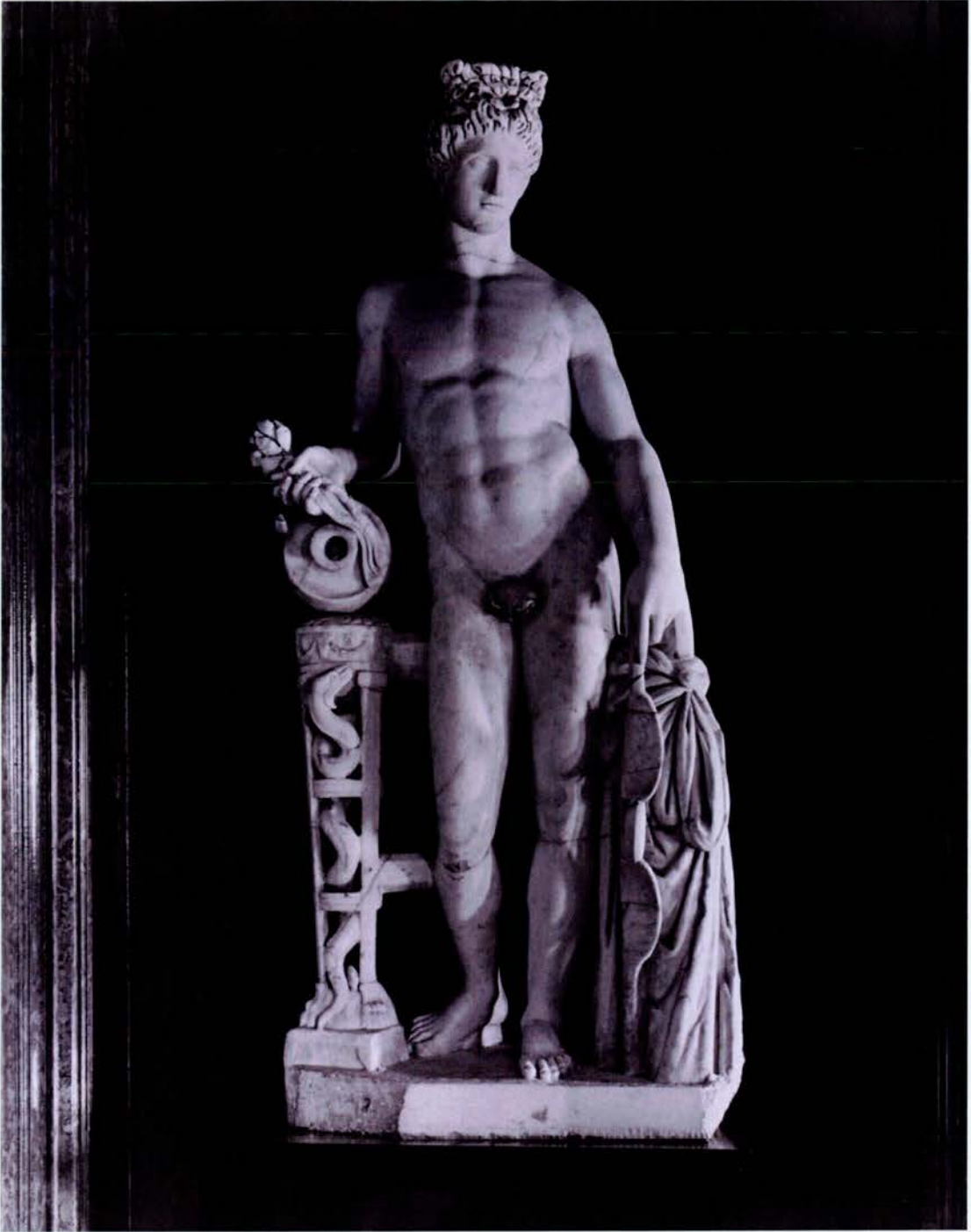
117. Workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Portrait of a Lady of the Saxon Court as Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, c.1537-40. Oil on beechwood panel, 79.9 x 55.6 cm. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

Attributed to Cranach's elder son Hans (who died in 1537) by San Francisco Museums.



118. Diego Velázquez, *Philip IV of Spain in Brown and Silver*, early 1630s(?). Oil on canvas, reduced to 195 x 110 cm. and later enlarged by additions to 199.5 x 113 cm. National Gallery, London.

This is almost certainly the portrait of Philip IV which was in the Library of the Escorial in the eighteenth century.



119. Unknown Greco-Roman Sculptor, *Apollo with the Attributes of Aesculapius*. Marble, approximately 183 cm. high. *Country Life* photograph, taken in 1919, in the Hamilton Archive.

Apollo was apparently found on the northern Greek island of Limnos and was bought in Italy by the 1st Duke of Buckingham in 1829. It was acquired by the 10th Duke of Hamilton at the 1848 Stowe sale.



120. Unknown Greco-Roman Sculptor, *Statue of a Man with the (attached) Head of the Emperor Hadrian*, called "A Roman Consul in the act of speaking" in 1848. Marble, approximately 175 cm. high. *Country Life* photograph, taken in 1919, in the Hamilton Archive. Acquired in Italy by the 1st Duke of Buckingham in 1829 and purchased at the 1848 Stowe sale by the 10th Duke of Hamilton.

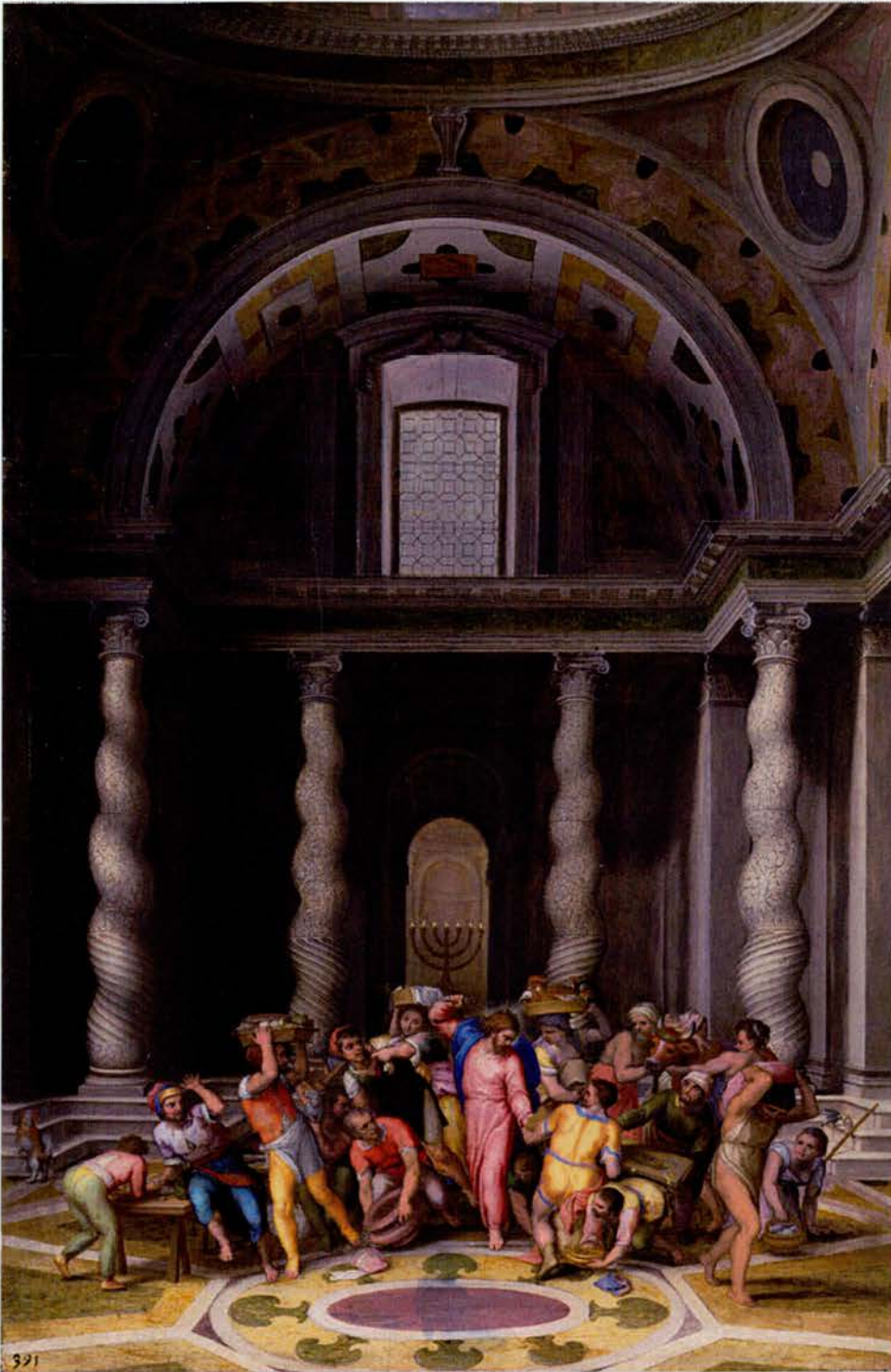


121. Unknown Greco-Roman Sculptor with eighteenth-century “restoration”, *Paris holding the Apple of Discord*. Marble, approximately 190 cm. *Country Life* photograph, taken in 1919, in the Hamilton Archive.

The 1848 Stowe sale-catalogue states that this piece was “discovered near the ruins of the ancient Lanuvium, between Albano and Velletri, in 1771 by Gavin Hamilton”. In letters written to Lord Shelburne in 1774 – a year after the actual find – Gavin Hamilton admitted that the neck was modern and that the left hand and half of the right arm were missing, and there can be little doubt that the artist-dealer fabricated *Paris holding the Apple of Discord*. Like the two previous statues, *Paris* was purchased by the 10th Duke of Hamilton at the 1848 Stowe sale.



122. Willem van de Velde, *A Calm Sea with Fishing Boats and a Warship firing a Gun*. Oil on panel, 36.5 x 47.2 cm. Ardgowan, Inverkip.



123. Attributed to Marcello Venusti, *Christ driving the Money Changers from the Temple*, now called *The Purification of the Temple*, after a drawing or sketches by Michelangelo. Oil on wood, 60 x 40 cm. National Gallery, London.



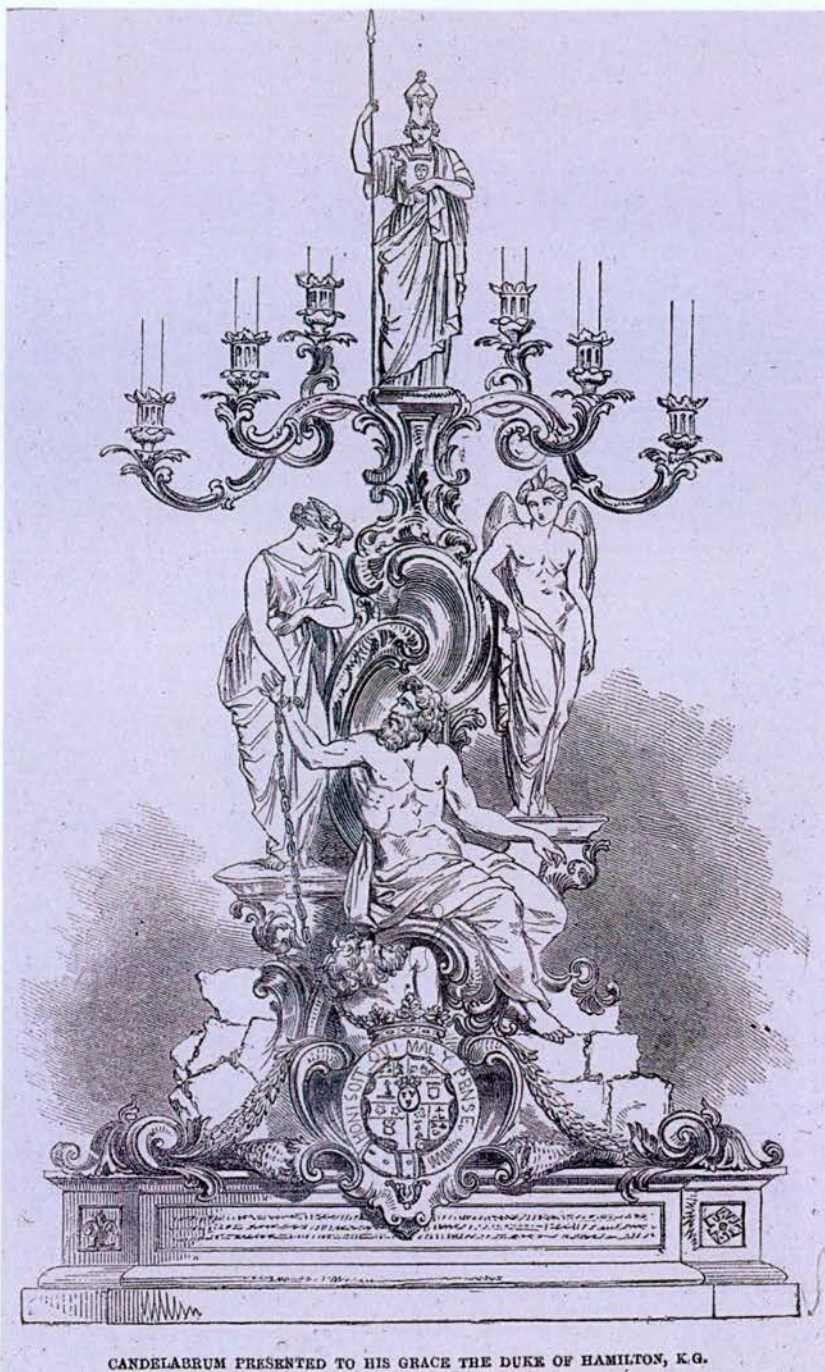
124. Attributed to Marcello Venusti, *The Holy Family (Il Silenzio)*, after a drawing by Michelangelo. Oil on wood, 43.1 x 28.5 cm. National Gallery, London.



125. Attributed to Francesco Botticini, Altarpiece of *The Assumption of the Virgin* painted for the family chapel of Matteo Palmieri in S. Pier Maggiore, Florence, c.1474-76(?). Wood, 228.5 x 377 cm. National Gallery, London.



126. Ventura di Arcangelo Salimbeni, *Saint Michael overcoming Satan*, signed and dated 1603. Oil on canvas, 222.9 x 168.3 cm. Sotheby's New York, 23 January 2003.



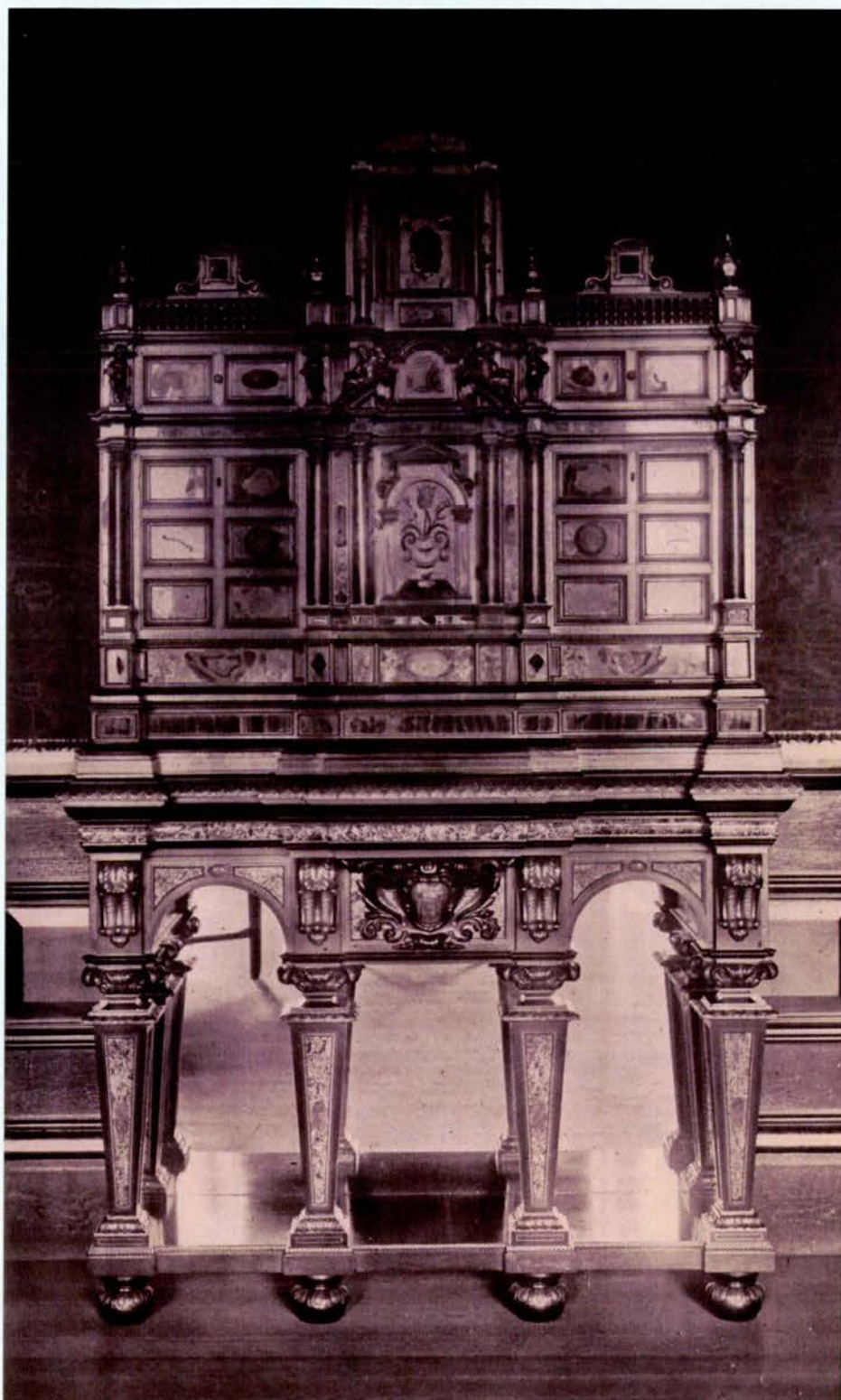
127. The Candelabrum-Centrepiece presented to the 10th Duke of Hamilton by the Tenantry on his Scottish Estates in 1849, published in the *Illustrated London News*, 14 July 1849.

The figure of Minerva is based on the Duke's plaster cast of the *Minerva Giustiniani*. The other figures are said to show "Vulcan bringing Æolus from the caverns of the earth, chain-bound, and delivering him up to Science", whilst Genius looks on, "watching the progress of the Arts". On the other side were "Ceres and Pluto disputing the riches of the earth".



128. Hunt and Roskell, Early Design for the Candelabrum-Centrepiece presented to the 10th Duke of Hamilton in 1849. Ink and wash on paper, 118.7 x 75 cm. Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton.

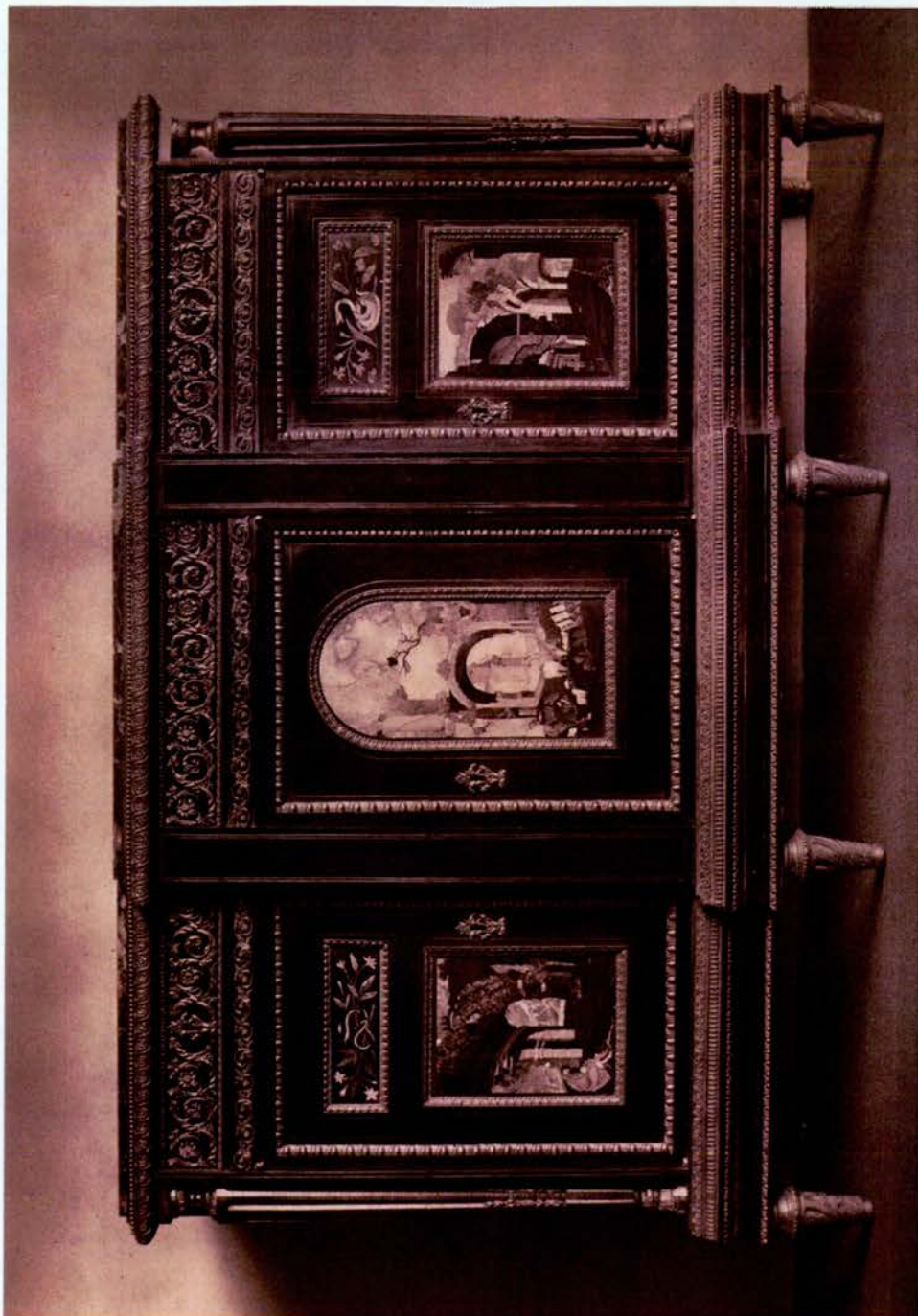
This may be one of the "three handsome Drawings" by "Storr & Mortimer" (the old name of the Hunt and Roskell business) which were sent to the Duke on 4 May 1848. The attached note identifies the subject-matter of design number 3 as "Minerva presiding over the Arts, Science, & Agriculture _ the figures on lower base, Vulcan, Æolus, & Prometheus, in reference to Hot Blast, in working Iron".



129. Illustration of the Ebony Cabinet with lapis lazuli columns and *pietre dure* plaques (wrongly) attributed to Michelangelo in Christie's catalogue of the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 996). Now at Elton Hall, near Peterborough.



130. Illustration of the Copy of one of the two Commodes supplied by André-Charles Boulle for Louis XIV's Bedchamber at the Grand Trianon in 1708 and now at Versailles, published in Christie's catalogue of the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 994). Apparently eighteenth century, fitted with a slab of Verona marble, and now at Petworth House, West Sussex.



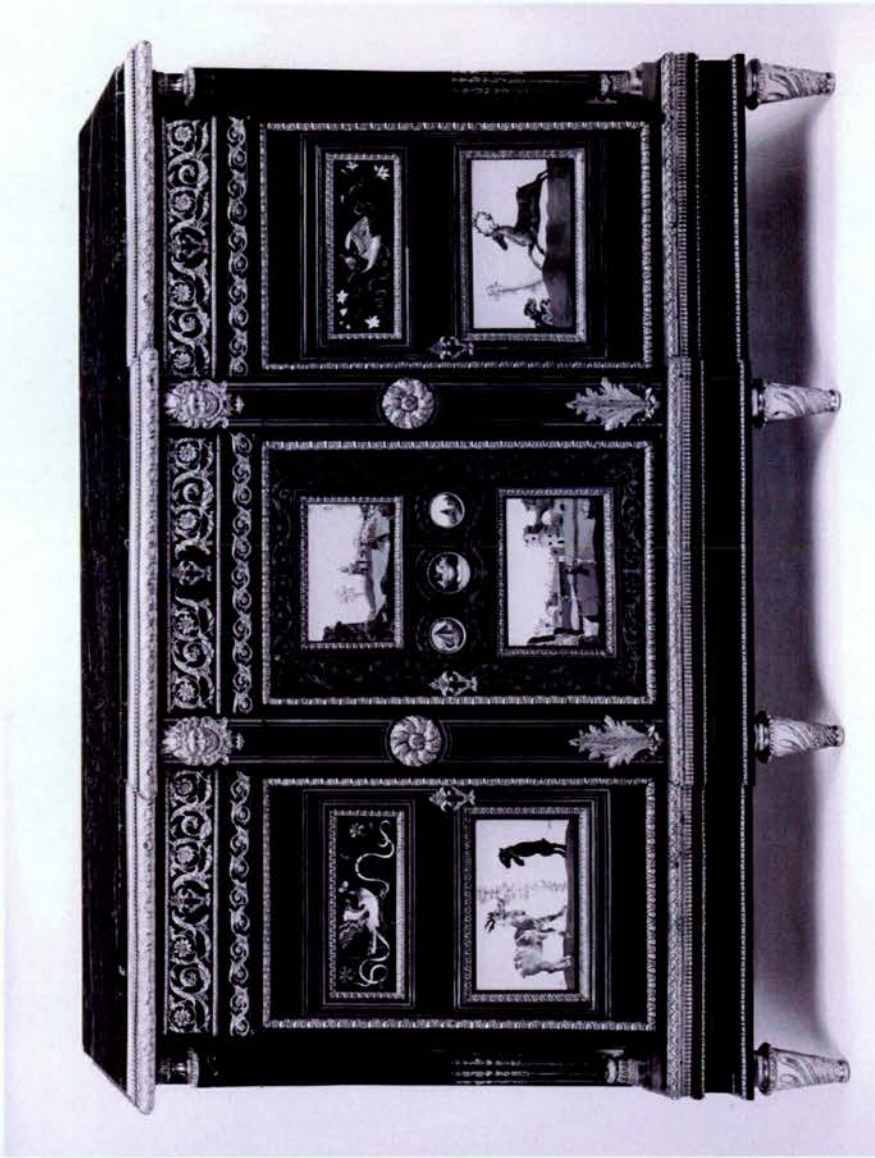
131. Illustration of the Cabinet with ebony veneer, *pietre dure* plaques, gilt-bronze mounts and veined black and gold marble top which was lot 992 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, published in Christie's sale-catalogue of the collection of Christopher Beckett Denison in June 1885 (lot 820). Now at Elton Hall, near Peterborough.

If Figures 132 and 133 were the cabinets in the Duke's collection in 1820, this seems to be the "bureau of Florentine stone work similar to my two others" sent by Quinet from Paris to Hamilton Palace in 1827 or 1826 (see Hamilton Archive, M4/70, p.185).



132. Attributed to Adam Weisweiler, Cabinet, c.1785. Oak, pine, and beech veneered with ebony and mahogany; pewter stringing; set with seventeenth- or eighteenth-century *pietre dure* plaques; gilt-bronze mounts; *portor d'Italie* marble top; 101.6 x 150.5 x 54.5 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

The carcase is stamped with the official Paris guild approval mark "JME" and was definitely made in Paris. This cabinet and Fig. 133 were probably the "2 Mosaick Cabinets and their Marble Tops" owned by the 10th Duke in 1820 (see Robert Hume's letter to Robert Brown, 13 November 1820, in Hamilton Archive, Bundle 1766).



133. Cabinet, c.1810, with restoration. Oak, pine, and beech veneered with ebony and mahogany; pewter stringing; set with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Florentine *pietre dure* plaques and late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century Roman micromosaics; gilt-bronze mounts; *portor d'Italie* marble top; 101.6 x 150.5 x 54.5 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

This cabinet appears to have been made as a partner to Fig. 132. It incorporates Roman micromosaics of the so-called *Doves of Pliny* mosaic in the Capitoline Museum and views of the pyramid of Caius Cestius that are normally regarded as Grand Tourist souvenirs of Rome. The micromosaics and *pietre dure* seem to be the spoils of a visit to Italy that were handed over to a furniture-maker. Workmen have then made up doors and used metallic paints, rather than metal inlays, to decorate and complete the surrounding areas.



134. Illustration of the Hamilton "Buhl" Cabinet with a medallion of Louis XIV published in Christie's catalogue of the 1885 Christopher Beckett Denison sale (lot 821). This low cabinet with unusual marquetry for A.-C. Boulle was either made from the top part of a cabinet-on-stand of the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century in the 1770s or '80s, or otherwise made/made up in the same period.



135. Jean-Henri Riesener, Commode commissioned for Louis XVI's private study at Fontainebleau and later in his library at Versailles, supplied in 1778. Wood with veneer and marquetry in purplewood, sycamore, tulipwood, satinwood, maple and mahogany, gilt-bronze mounts, and Sarrancolin marble top, 95 x 165 x 63 cm. Château de Versailles.



136. Jean-Nicolas Blanchard and Antoine Rascalon, *Canapé à confidents*, commissioned for the Salon d'Été of Louis XVI's aunts, Mesdames Adelaïde and Victoire, at the Château of Bellevue in 1784. Walnut and beechwood covered with gold-leaf by the gilder Dutems, 118 x 406 x 102 cm. Re-upholstered with pink floral Gobelins tapestry by 1807, when it was in Napoleon's apartments at the Tuileries. Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon.

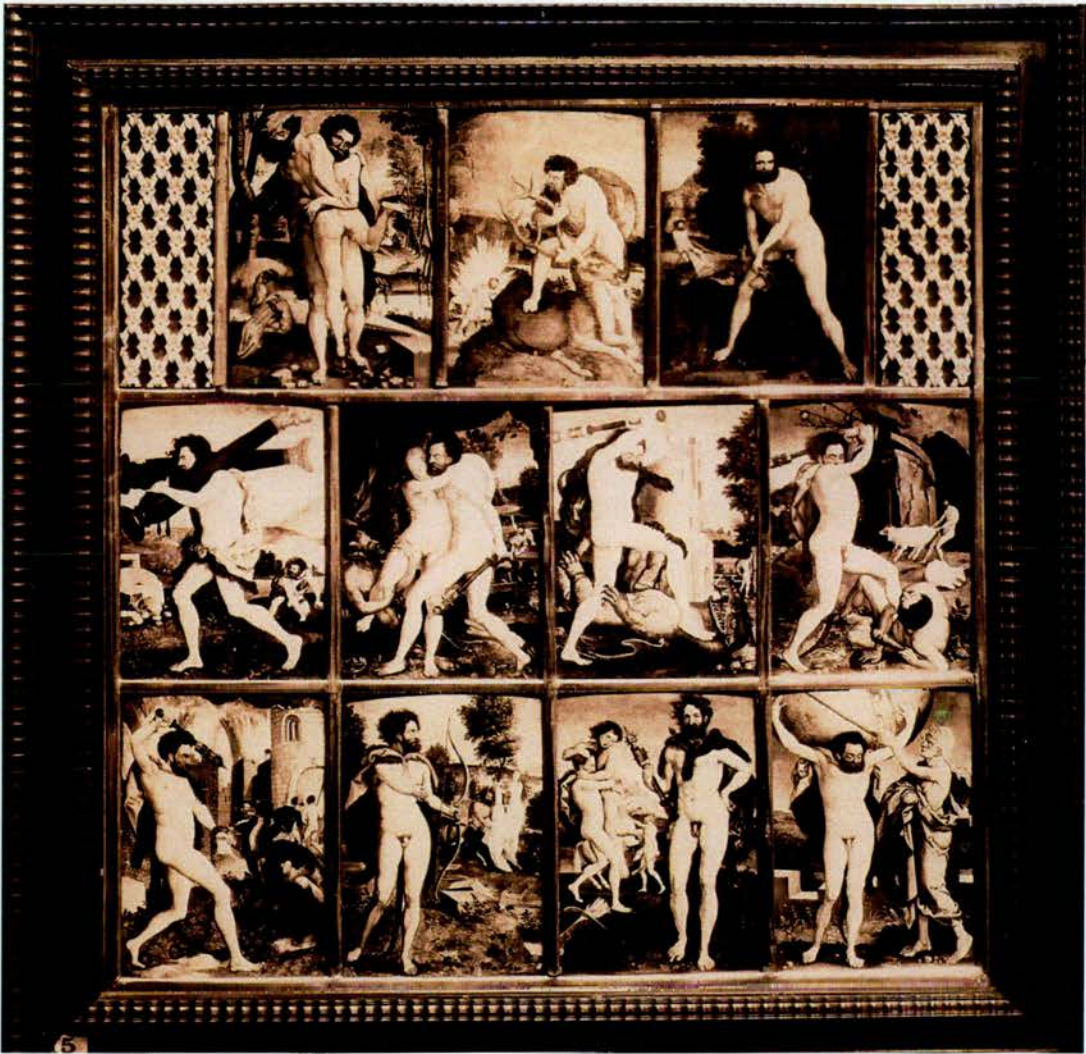
Blanchard was a Parisian *menuisier* specializing in seat furniture, while Rascalon was a sculptor working on the decoration of the Salon d'Été at Bellevue.



137. Attributed to Joseph Baumhauer, *Bureau Plat* and *Cartonnier* made for Ange-Laurent de Lalive de Jully, c.1756-57. Oak veneered with ebony, with gilt-bronze mounts and inlaid stringing of ungilded brass or bronze; the table 86 x 195 x 108 cm. and the cabinet 161 x 108 x 54.5 cm. Musée Condé, Chantilly. These very important early Neo-classical pieces were designed by the painter Louis-Joseph Le Lorrain and are decorated with mounts by Philippe Caffiere. The table was subsequently repaired by the *ébéniste* Jean-François Leleu.



138. Illustration of the Florentine *Pietre Dure* Casket published in Christie's catalogue of the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 182). The description and measurements in the 1882 catalogue tally exactly with the 1825, 1835 and 1853 inventory entries about the 10th Duke of Hamilton's "Medici Casket". The statement in the 1882 catalogue that the piece was "From Fonthill" is highly questionable. It was not one of the items acquired through Hume from the 1823 Fonthill sale and clearly has nothing to do with the collection Beckford bequeathed to his daughter in 1844.



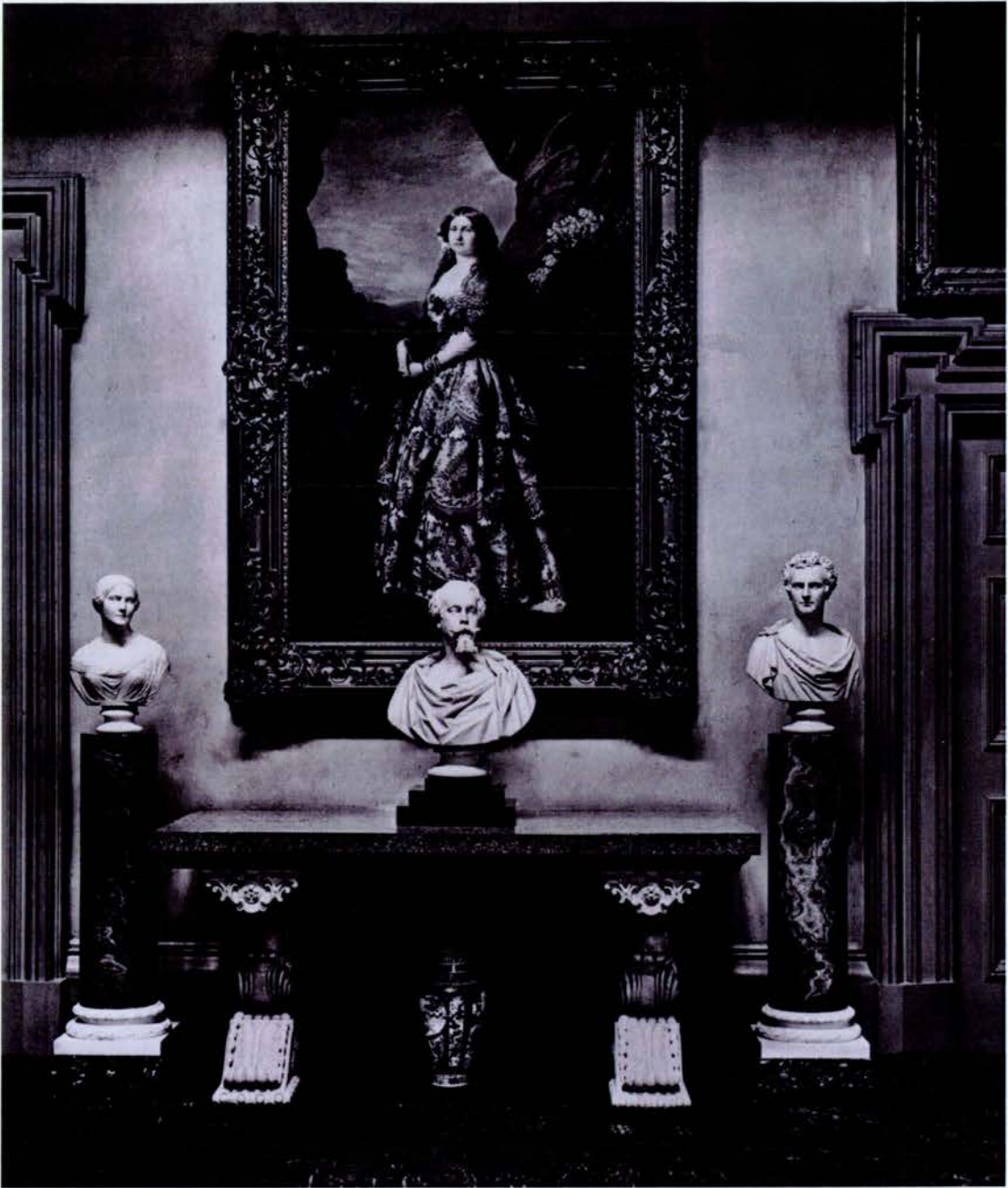
139. German School, *Eleven Labours of Hercules* (after prints by Heinrich Aldegrever, dated 1550), second half of the 16th century or 17th century. Oil on panel, measurements not known. De-accessioned from the Arnot Art Museum, Elmira, in the 1970s.

A label removed from the back of one of the panels when all eleven were in the Arnot Art Museum records that it had been purchased in Inverness by Sir David Dalrymple, Baronet of Hailes, and had been given by him to a Duke of Hamilton to "compleat the Collection of Labours of Hercules in the abbey of Holyroodhouse" in or before 1771. The other ten panels are presumably from the "Twelve little Pictures of Herculeses labours in black Eboney frames" recorded at Kinneil Castle or House in the 1704 Hamilton inventory of Holyroodhouse and Kinneil (Hamilton Archive, M4/42, p.9). A note by the dealer and restorer William Samuel Woodburn, dated 4 July 1805, also preserved in the Arnot Museum, records that the Marquis of Douglas (i.e. the 10th Duke) had "entrusted" pictures belonging to the set to Woodburn, that Woodburn had "accidentally" found the print sources, and concluded that the Hamilton paintings were by Aldegrever.



140. Top of the three-legged table presented by the Empress Eugénie to Princess Marie of Baden in 1853-54. Painted porcelain and gilt bronze, 71 x 87 x 87 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

The Sèvres porcelain plaque is signed and dated "L.P. Schilt 1850", while the ormolu is engraved: "Offert à Madame la DUCHESSE D'HAMILTON, / par SA MAJESTÉ L'IMPÉRATRICE EUGÉNIE / Sèvres, le 4 avril 1853".



141. Thomas Annan, Photograph of part of the Tribune in Hamilton Palace. Glasgow University Library.

Annan's photograph shows Patric Park's bust of the *Emperor Napoleon III* flanked by Laurence Macdonald's busts of Princess Marie of Baden and the 11th Duke of Hamilton, signed and dated Rome, 1846 and 1843 respectively. Both these busts were sent to the 11th Duke and Duchess's daughter, the Countess Festetics, in 1897 and are now at the Helikon Castle Museum (formerly the Festetics' country palace), Keszthely, Hungary. The large painting is listed in the 1876 inventory as a portrait of Princess Marie by Winterhalter.



142. Patric Park, *The Emperor Napoleon III*, signed and dated Manchester, 1 January 1855. Marble, 80 x 61 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

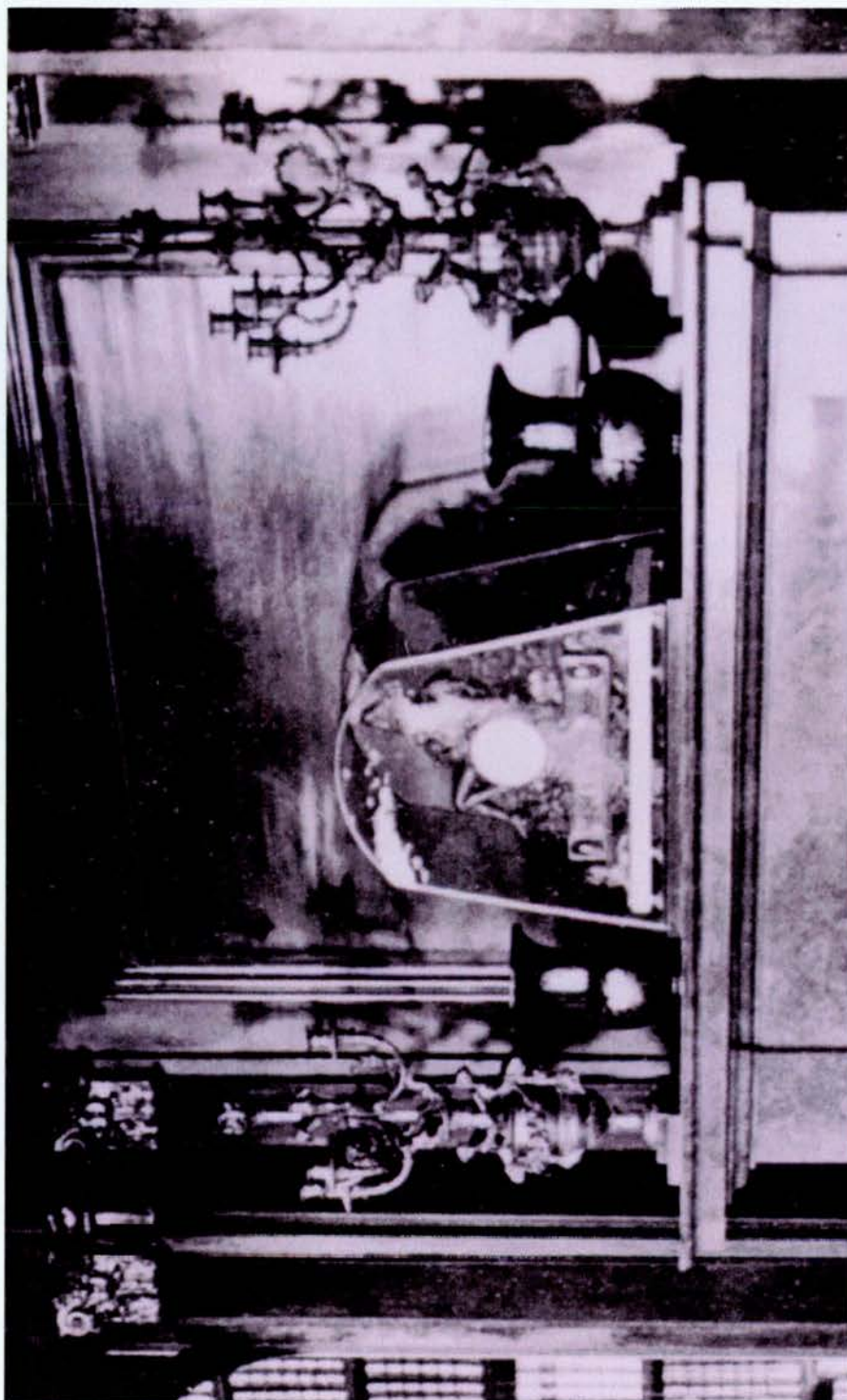
This bust appears to have been carved around the same time as the bust of the Emperor commissioned by the 11th Duke of Hamilton. It was displayed at the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1855 and acquired by the South Kensington Museum after the closure of the exhibition, in 1856. Park's Hamilton Palace bust was included in the 1919 Hamilton Palace sales.



143. Print from a broken glass negative of the “mahogany bed stand with two guilt figures in wood” acquired by the 10th Duke of Hamilton in 1826-27. Photograph courtesy of the *Country Life* Archive and RCAHMS.

By the time *Country Life*’s photographer took this illustration in 1919, the tester – described as “the roof mahogany with bronze likewise” – was no longer with the boat bed.

The bed is discussed in more detail in Appendix 9.

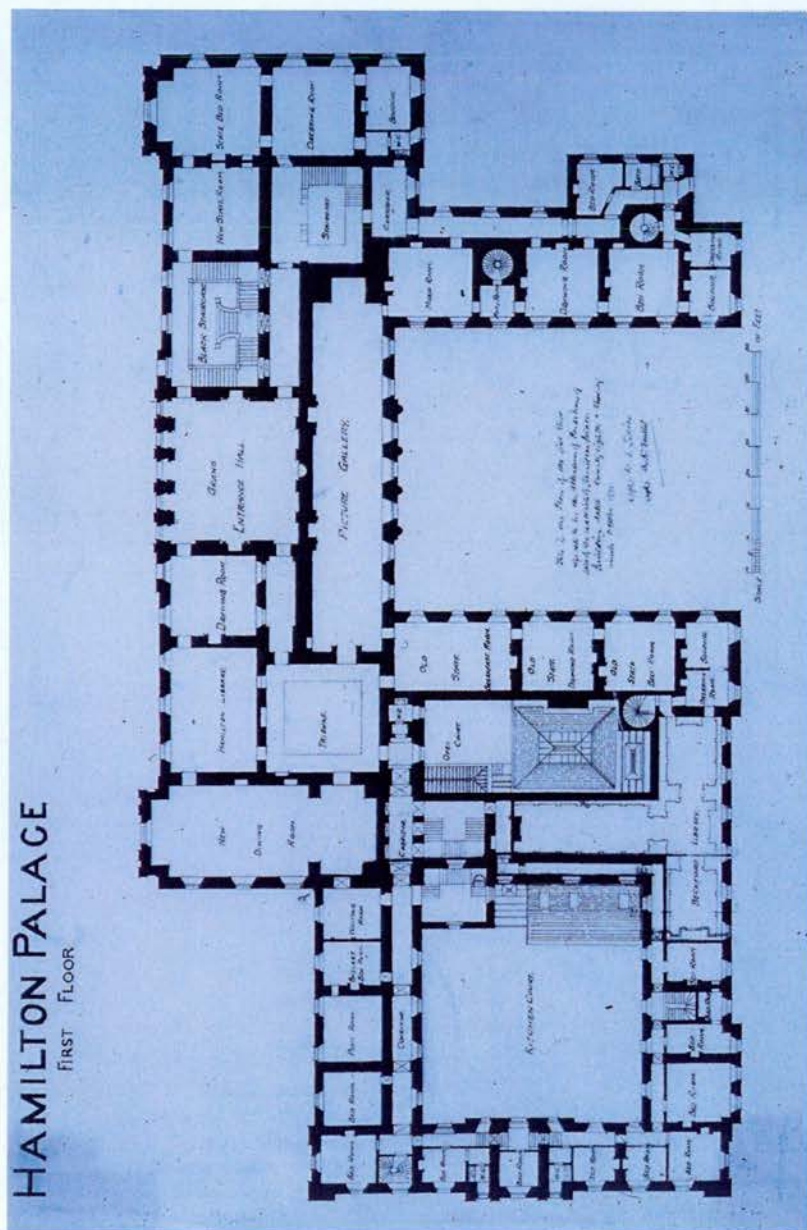


144. Detail of Thomas Annan's photograph of the Hamilton Library, showing the pair of Louis XVI-style six-light candelabra associated with "the Queen of France" (i.e. Marie-Antoinette) in the 1835 and 1853 Hamilton Palace inventories. Hamilton Town House Library.

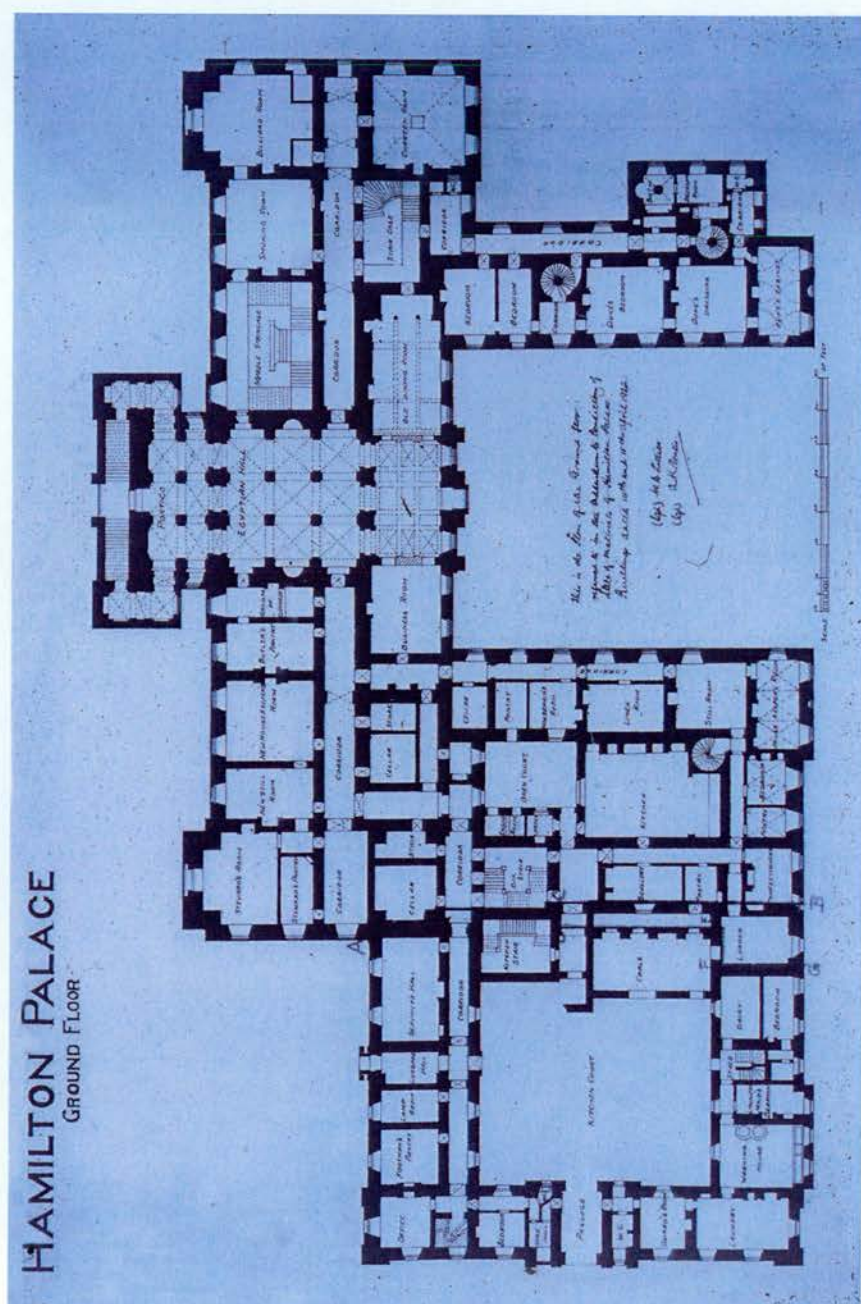
The candelabra are discussed in Appendix 9.



145. Detail of Thomas Annan's photograph of the Gallery, showing one of the two pairs of Louis XVI-style five-light candelabra that were included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale as lots 658 and 659. Hamilton Town House Library. As noted in Appendix 9, all four candelabra appear to have been sent from Paris by Jean Quinet in 1827.



146. Plan of the First Floor of Hamilton Palace, with the new North Front at the top. Photograph courtesy of RCAHMS. Although the plan is annotated with a cross reference relating to October 1921, many of the rooms have the same names as in the 10th Duke's time. The Old State Rooms in the west wing (the left-hand wing) housed over a third of the main paintings in the palace. The New State or Tapestry Rooms are on the north-east side of the new extension (top right). The first of these was a Sitting Room; the "Drawing Room" on the other side of the Grand Entrance Hall was called the New Sitting Room. The 10th Duke's wife's apartments were in the east wing (the wing on the right).



147. Plan of the Ground Floor of Hamilton Palace, with the new North Front at the top; annotated with a cross reference relating to April 1922. Photograph courtesy of RCAHMS. The plan shows the Duke's apartments in the east wing (on the right). The "Marble Staircase" is the great Black Marble Staircase. Soyer's two bronze Atlantes were set up on the walls flanking the central entrance, which was directly opposite the projecting lower flight of the staircase.